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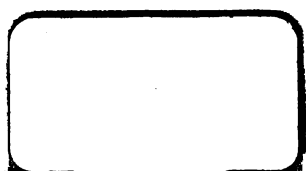
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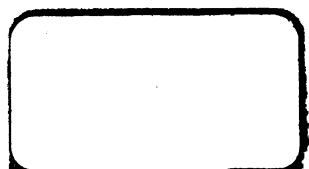
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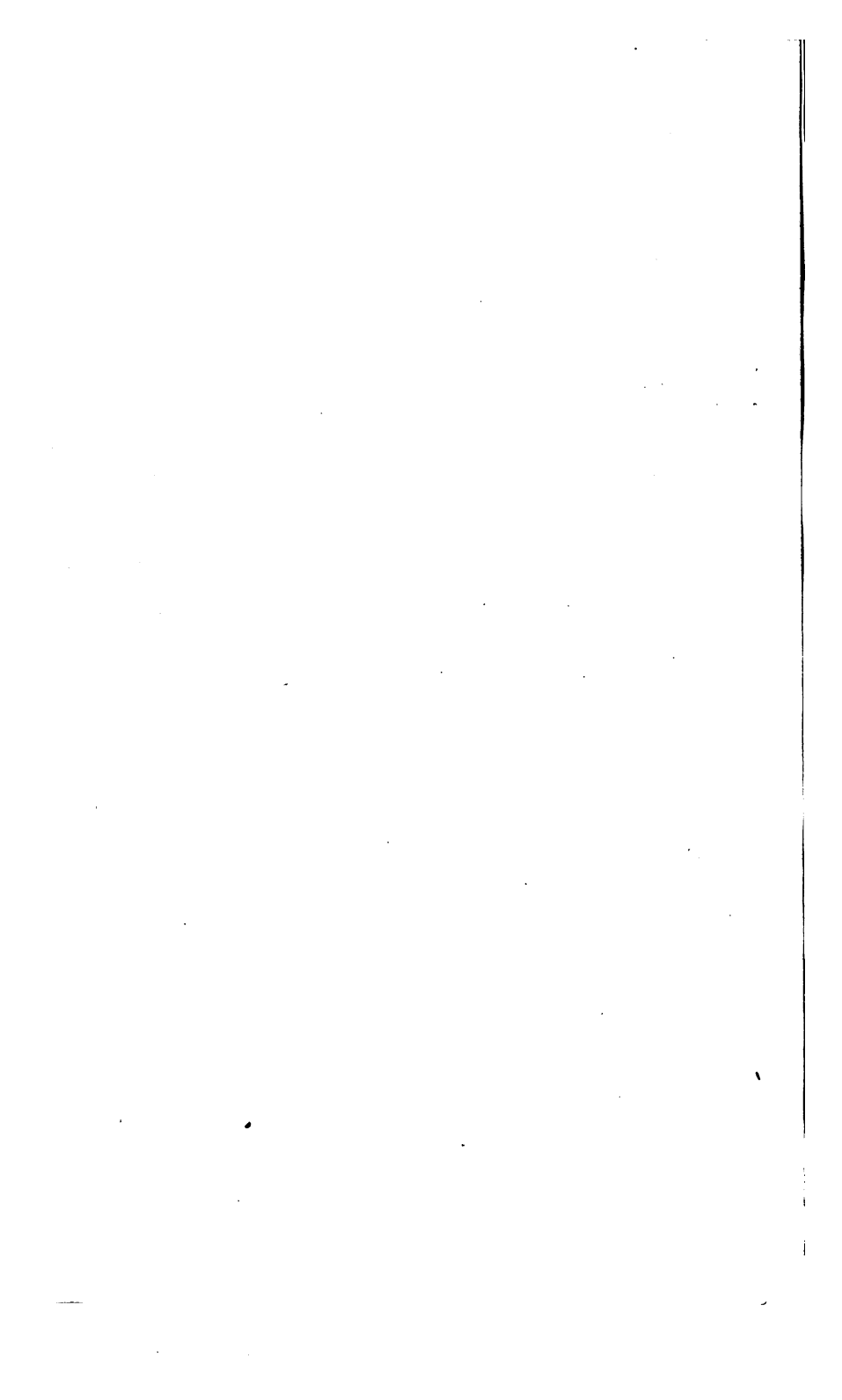
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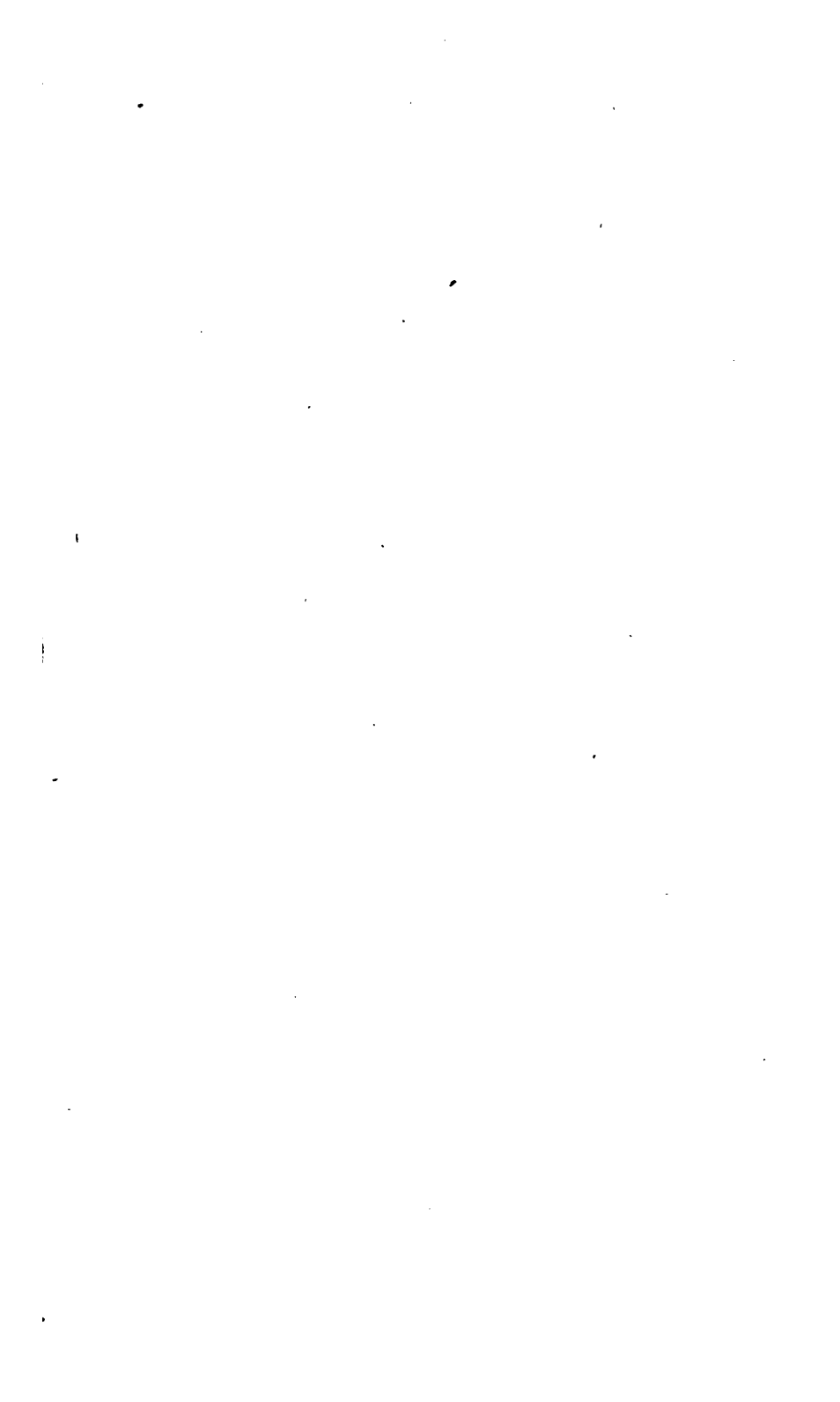


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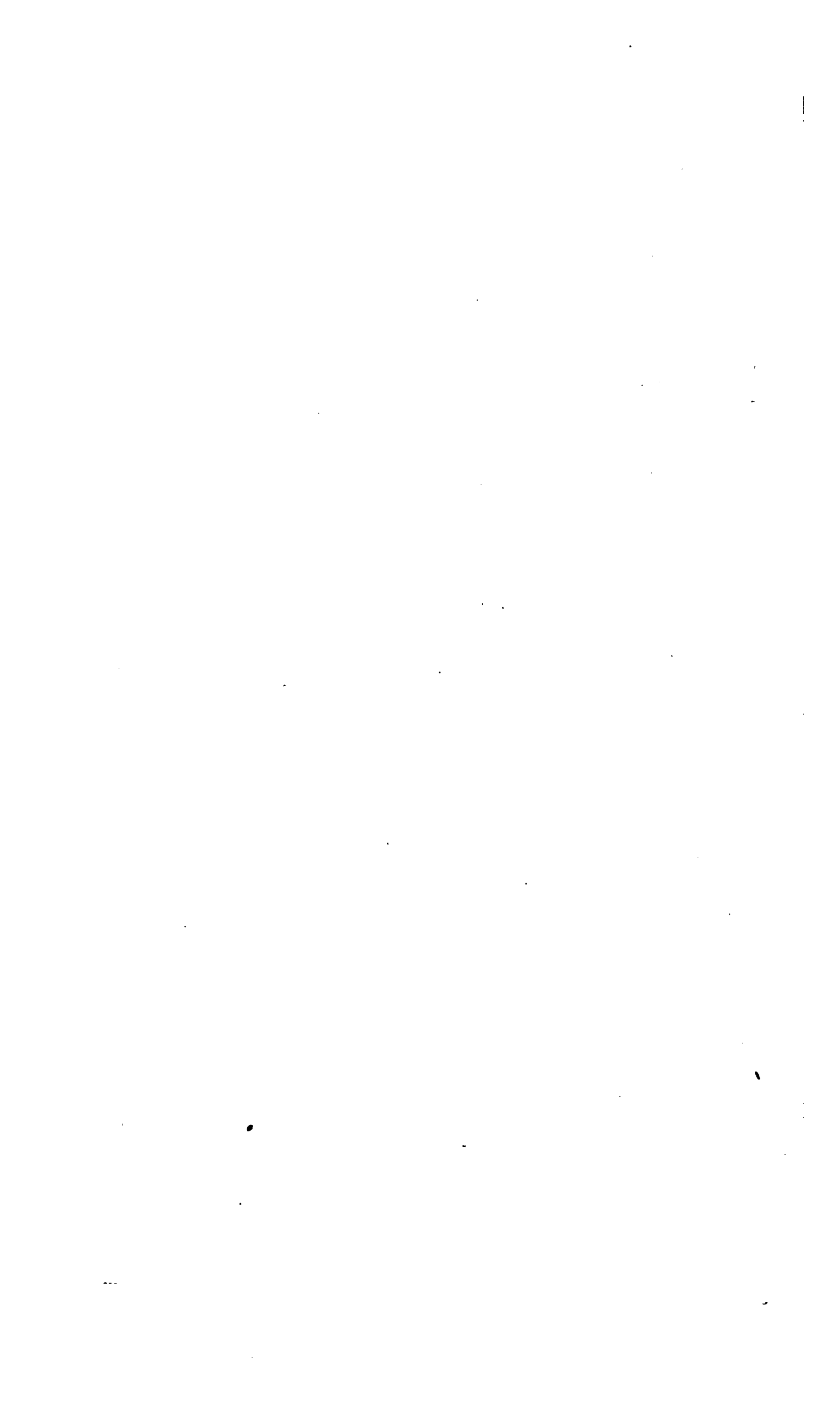
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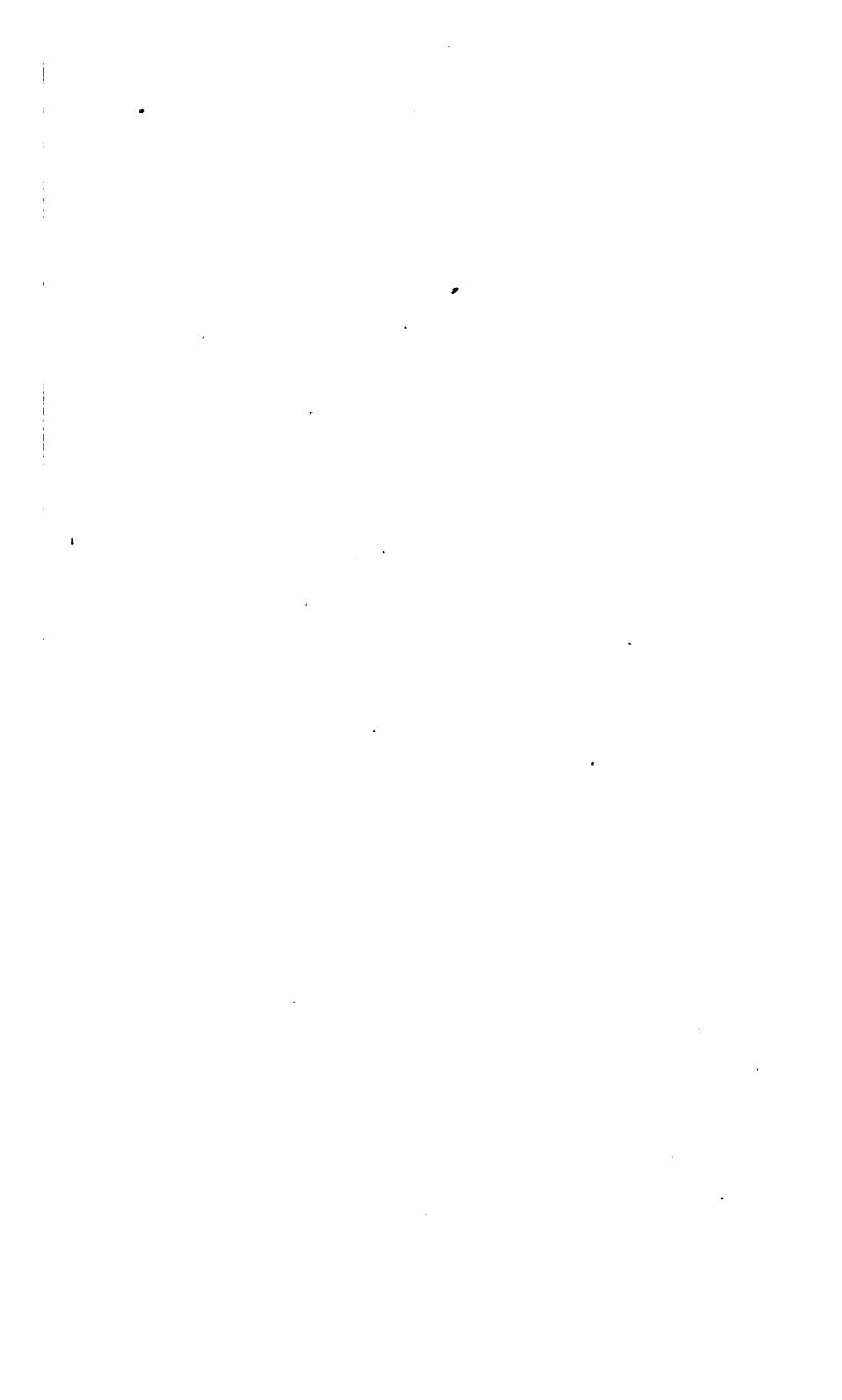


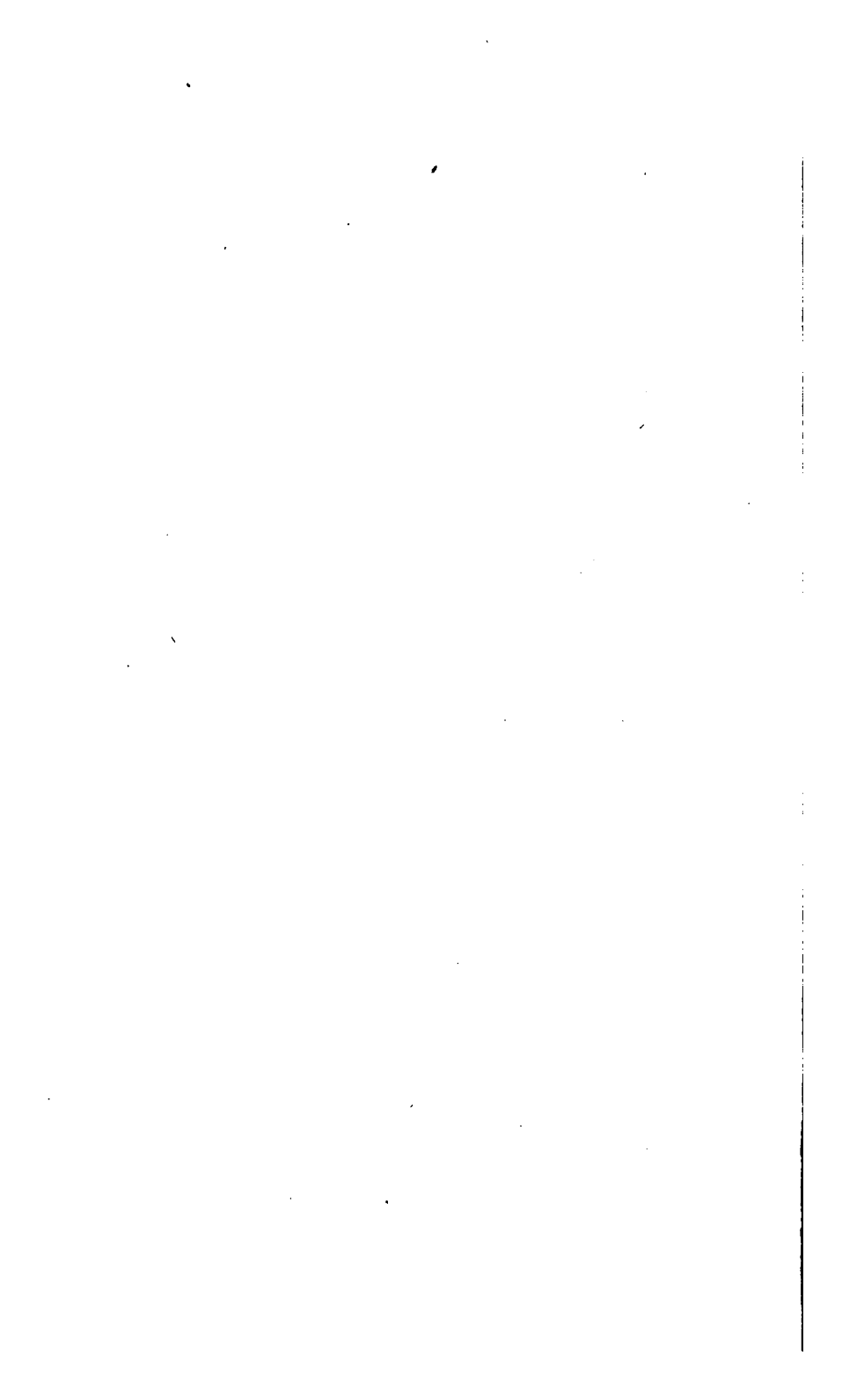




CSA
Cathy







AN
A P P E A L
TO THE
PEOPLE OF IRELAND,
BY
W. P. CAREY,
LATE PROPRIETOR OF THE NATIONAL EVENING STAR,
AND
INTENDED PROPRIETOR AND PRINTER
OF THE
NEW EVENING STAR.

FIRST PART.

" TO THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS ALONE WE ARE IN-
DEBTED FOR ALL THE FREEDOM WE AT PRESENT
ENJOY, AND ON IT WE MUST FOUND ALL OUR HOPES
OF FUTURE FREEDOM." *Erskine's Defence of Paine.*

D U B L I N :

PRINTED SEPTEMBER, 1794.

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E R R A T A.

Page 16, For *who*, read, *which* ought not only to be *composed* of men of probity—Page 30, For I shall bear without *pinning*, read *repining*—page 42, For *ar* read *far*—Re'spect, first page in the blank verse, for *enkind'd*, read *enkindled*—*Thund'r*, *Thunder*—For his gelid sceptre *rai'd*, read, *rai'd*—The page after 12, read 13—Page 15, for rule for *dmission*, read, *admission*—After page 27, for 29, read 28—Page 40, see note, wilfully effecting an incapacity, read *affecting*—43, The form of political Atlas, read, *a* political—44, Vociferate him in silence, read, *into* silence—55, By *tenacious* adherence than *prompt* in reflection, read *adherence* to his party, &c.

NOTE---There are a number of other trivial incorrections occasioned by the Author not having leisure to superintend the printing of this Publication---These being easily discernible, it is hoped the reader will excuse them.

ALTERATION.

Page 9, Introduction, for the *Note* at bottom---read, The Report of the Committee in my case, when arrested for the Address to the Volunteers, was for an *obvious dishonest purpose* torn out of the Society of United Irishmen's book, as will appear in 2d Part of my Appeal.

P R E F A C E.

THE following publication appears after I have fortunately extricated myself from the prosecutions pending over me when I began to write it. This was in November, 1793, immediately after my expulsion from the Society of United Irishmen. The whole of the introductory reflections, and nearly all of the retrospect were written and printed before the trial of A. H. Rowan, Esq. took place—it being my first intention to publish it previous to that event. This I was obliged to delay by circumstances not in my power to avoid. In the interval between my writing it and the present time many circumstances have occurred which may cause a part of my reasoning upon the conduct of popular association to appear unnecessary. The Society of United Irishmen, whose errors I laboured to rectify, is fallen. Still, however, I flatter myself the propriety of my arguments will be obvious. Reflecting men will discover by what means that Society lost the public confidence. By permitting itself to be made a passive instrument in the hands of an *Aristocracy* of the learned professions—Physic and Law. Thus, by sinking the *many* into a blind submission to the *few*, becoming itself the promoter of that evil in the community which it was expressly established to remove. My principles are so fully displayed in these pages, that I have no fear but every real friend to Liberty will do me justice on reading them. Perhaps too the Popular Party will in future learn to shun those errors into which the well-meaning Members of the United Irishmen were so easily led.

As a ridiculous attempt was made on the late trial of Drennan to prove by certain expressions *sworn* to have been made use of by me, that I had a previous malice against him—I shall point out one circumstance which will enable the reader to judge what degree of truth there was in this insinuation and expressions. On the 8th of November, 1793, I was expelled from the Society of United Irishmen, *on a surmise, without proof of any kind*, that I had employed my pen in a public paper to urge the Society to the measure of exonerating Surgeon Wright and Mr. Mathews from the payment of 100*l.* each, in which they were bound when they became bail for my appearance to take my trial for publishing the Address of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin to the Volunteers. The first man to move my expulsion was the Author of the Address to the Volunteers, the very man who had involved me in my difficulties. As the men who hurried the Society into this unprincipled measure, would ever after prevent the Society from fulfilling its engagements to support me, I saw no other prospect but that of going into a prison for publishing the Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers, or for ever abandoning my country. The latter I could not do without flying from my bail, and leaving them to suffer the consequences. This I could not think of doing, although Wright and Mathews, who were both United Irishmen, had deserted me in the Society, and the former had voted for my expulsion. A circumstance the less to be expected, as I was expelled on a surmise that I had employed my pen to serve these two persons, and because I had with inflexible fidelity discharged the trust reposed in me by them: having stood by them when many Members of that Society, and other of my friends, advised and pressed me to fly the kingdom, to save myself from a perpetual imprisonment.

Being

P R E F A C E.

Being thus hopeless of procuring the exoneration of Mr. Wright and Mr. Mathews from the Society, and determined not to enter a prison, from which I saw no means of extrication, I *twice* applied, *immediately after my expulsion*, to a Person in Office, and offered to fly with my family and obnoxious principles to America, if the bail bond would be given up in which Mr. Wright and Mr. Mathews were bound for my appearance to take my trial. I painted the situation of these two persons as justly and forcibly as I could. The one subject to the natural infirmities of a very advanced stage of life. The other only capable by his professional merits to support decently a family of a wife and seven children—and both utterly incapable of paying the penalty of 100*l.* in which they were bound as my bail. The answer to all my entreaties on this head was—“that this would be to grant a favour to me—which no part of my conduct as Printer of the *National Evening Star* entitled me to expect”—that therefore I could not hope for the exoneration of my securities by any other mode than that of giving up the person who had ordered the publication of the *Address to the Volunteers* into my paper.” As this step, of giving up another to prosecution, was the last resource, and indeed only excusable by being a measure of absolute necessity, I sought by my answer to take away the hope of my capacity to do it, declaring that I could not positively recollect the circumstance of the order. This was in Nov. 1793, after which I applied no more in that quarter. While I was thus struggling for Mr. Wright and Mr. Mathews, my Appeal, this publication, was sheet after sheet hurried to the Press as fast as I had leisure to write it, as I had promised it to the public in December 1793, or January following. I was therefore under the necessity of taking away, in this publication, every expectation of my having the power to give up the real person who had given me the order to publish the *Address to the Volunteers*. This I did by indirectly attributing the order to another person who being then under prosecution for the *Address to the Volunteers* could not, as I was then informed, legally be prosecuted twice for the same publication.

This fact is proved by many persons with whom I then conversed, and by the following passage which the reader will find in the retrospect—page 27. “The *Address of the Society of United Irishmen* was inserted by order of the Secretary, Mr. —, on Tuesday, the 18th of December.” It is here implied to have been ordered by the person who was Secretary at the time the *Address to the Volunteers* was issued. This gentleman was then under prosecution for that publication, and since has been unfortunately lost to his country. The enquiry of Government was thus turned away from the Author of that *Address* to a person already in their power. This implication appears again in the note underneath. Thus without giving any name, I endeavoured to screen the author of the *Address to the Volunteers*—my wish to do so in this manner can be proved, as it is a fact, that the sheet in which the above passage appears was printed, for that particular purpose, so long back as the month of December, 1793.—This, with my waiting 6 months after Drennan moved my expulsion, and 3 months after Rowan’s sentence, in which I saw my own fate, and also giving a month’s warning of what I would be forced to do in my own defence unless my bail were exonerated by the Society, are all clear proofs that I had no other view but to do justice to my bail and to preserve my family.

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

OBJECT AND CONFORMATION

OF

POPULAR SOCIETIES.

EXAMPLES of every age and nation^o generally prove that the possession of power leads to the exercise of oppression: the same examples and the ablest political writers teach us that the civil, and religious liberty of the community is *only* to be preserved, by a spirited resistance to the early encroachments of authority. This spirited resistance, having for its object *a general good*, can only be made by a people sensible of their just rights, feeling their individual importance, reasoning for themselves, and firm enough to oppose oppression let it attack them from what quarter it may.

A people possessing these essential qualities will be ever on their guard: they know that a submission to one arbitrary act creates a precedent for the commission of a thousand. Acquainted with the weakness of human nature, they justly inculcate it as an axiom, never to be lost sight of—"THAT IT IS THE DANGEROUS QUALITY OF POWER, *in a greater or lesser degree*, TO CORRUPT *THOSE WHO POSSESS IT." They wisely compare it to a body of waters, which unconfined, is a

B

destructive

* Applying equally to the friends of Reform, and to those whom they seek to curb.

destructive inundation, but which, in a proper bed, becomes a source of ornament and benefit, fertilizing the country, through which it flows. They therefore feel that it is *themselves who are to restrain* that authority which *they bestow*, and which *by nature* requires to be restrained within *due bounds*. They know that these *bounds* are liable to be sapped by the force which they are formed to confine; that they demand a continual vigilance to keep them in repair, and that if not repaired in time, they are liable to be undermined and finally swept away by the prevailing influence of overwhelming corruption.

In an established government into which abuses may have crept which call for a REFORM, it only can be *peaceably* effected by petition, and remonstrance; this mode can *alone* prove efficacious, when it is the result of reason and reflection; when it exhibits, in every stage of its progress, the combination of *talent* and *integrity*; and when it is steadily supported under persecution and calumny, by the courage and perseverance of the great body of the people.

A reform in the representation of the Commons House of Parliament, is acknowledged by all parties in this kingdom to be a laudable object. The *sense* of the nation *now* rather than its *voice*, *feebly* calls for it: the minority in Parliament *feebly* echoes that *sense*: the minister and the majority concede the point that REFORM IS NECESSARY: How far it is to be extended, by what means it is to be obtained, and what time is most prudent to attempt it, are points of disagreement which have unfortunately occurred, whenever the question has been brought forward. The friends of Government fear that the attempt will unhinge the order and connection of that establishment, which is their support: the

the popular party construes this fear of the measure, into a resolution for ever to oppose it. The former are backward to begin, what they deem might produce the dangers of a *popular interference*, which they dread : the latter despairs of the co-operation of the ruling power, when it beholds the odium with which the active friends of reform, are loaded, by those who fill every department of the state. This difference of opinion is the more to be lamented, as it seems to preclude the hope of speedily accomplishing this great and desirable object, even at present, when it is known to occupy the deliberation and the talents of the most enlightened members, of the legislature, on both sides of the house, preparatory to discussing the question, at the approaching session of Parliament.

To co-operate in legally effecting a reform in Parliament is the *motive* for founding political associations in Ireland ; it is the boundary of their pursuits. This reform implies a removal of certain abuses in the representative system ; from which abuses many circumstances of collective grievance and individual oppression, of which the people complain, are derived. The object of association, is therefore laudable, as it aims to produce a *general good*, by *legal means*. It seeks to put an end to *undue influence*, and to the *abuse of power* ; to banish corruption from a *certain circle* ; to pour the public voice more fully into the ear of the sovereign ; to render impartial the administration of justice ; to REMOVE GRIEVANCES, not TO CREATE THEM.

A single association, though composed of several *thousand men of property, and of commercial consequence, however pure its *avowed* principles, and however dignified by talents, can advance to this great

* Unfortunately we have no such association in this country.
object

object, a **GENERAL GOOD**, by legal means, *only* in proportion as it possesses, what cannot be obtained, without being deserved, **A CHARACTER OF INTEGRITY**. This jewel, which is so essential to a private individual, is infinitely more so to a *public body*, which from the nature of its institution must ever have many inveterate and powerful enemies. The reputation of talents may be acquired by the display of superior abilities in eloquent speaking, or in fine writing : the fascination of these qualities unaccompanied by the nobler endowments of mind, may excite admiration mingled with pity, but cannot command our respect. It is only by the *union* of *genius* and *virtue* that unsullied public spirit, devoid of selfishness, can be produced : by this union men are taught to think deeply ; to express themselves with force and perspicuity ; to act amid danger and temptation with fortitude and integrity : It constitutes the true nobility of soul, which inspires an individual about to act, not to question himself "how far it may be *safe*, or his *Interest* to do so," but to consult his heart and to enquire of his reason, "*how far it is his duty?—how far it is right?*"

The person who is thus guided by the voice of reason, does not exhibit a fluctuation of principles, with the fluctuation of times. His principles are not to be changed by circumstances, nor impaired by accident : They flourish independent of success or misfortune : they are founded in truth and justice which are immutable. This man abhors the selfish littleness of party : he looks with equal indifference upon the name of Whig and Tory : He gives *nothing* to names : He gives *all* to *virtue*. He is not dazzled by the splendour of the Peerage in the chair of the Friends to the Constitution, Liberty and Peace, nor is he imposed upon by the witchcraft of the word "**HONOURABLE**"

in the chair of the Society of United Irishmen : He reveres the former in public and private, as the friend to his country, the humane and indulgent landlord, the good husband and father, the inflexible honest man : He beholds in the latter a political character, who has obtained notice in the public service ; who has done much good by assisting to found a patriotic association, but who has *hatterly* done much harm, by tarnishing its character of integrity ; who possesses *in himself* no power, but who was of some consequence by the influence which he obtained over a number of honest well meaning men, and which hastened to dissolution the moment he betrayed a wish to abuse it : Highly as he esteems the former he knows he is liable to err : Much as he censures the latter he does not despair of his yet being of service. The man, who can thus discriminate between real and imaginary good, is not a patriot only when the wind blows from a quarter adverse to government.* He is truly consistent under the appearance of inconsistency. He will this day support Government in its honest measures ; he will to-morrow, fearlessly oppose it in any act of oppression. Such a man, were he *even* in the *most terrible crisis* of misfortune, marked out as an object of vengeance by the higher powers whom he had censured,—and betrayed, abandoned, and vilified by the party whose *professed* principles he supported, refusing to call on friends who, unsolicited ought to assist him, and wholly without resources but what arise from the exercise of personal acquirements ; such a man, bursting from the obscurity of proscription, even in the teeth of prosecution and on the brink of a prison, would stand forward in defence of his reputation, undismayed by the power, the talents or the malignity of his enemies : calm in the recollection of

* Men of this character are *hatterly* *non-attending* members of the United Irishmen.

† My own case.

the *past*, he would await with *courage* the issue of the *future*, disdaining to owe his safety to a dishonorable capitulation with the ruling power; or to a base submission to unmerited injustice from those who led him to danger and ought to protect him.

A UNION,—The UNION of VIRTUE and GENIUS; the ONLY UNION which ought to be sought for, is WISDOM, it is JUSTICE, without which *talents* are a *means of evil* and *power* is a *curse*. An association possessing it, never suffers a partial principle to creep upon and stain the purity of its views. Acquainted with the true maxim that *honesty* is the *soundest policy*, it never yields an assent to what might require the veil of secrecy, to conceal its impropriety: thus it is enabled to address the people with *unaffected energy*, as it stands before the people, with a CHARACTER OF UNIMPEACHED INTEGRITY, and it is sedulous to obtain that character by courting, for all its proceedings, that PUBLICITY, which forms the truest test, and the surest eulogium, of just and honourable actions.

By possessing this honourable character, an association obtains PUBLIC CONFIDENCE, the *only organ* by which it is enabled to diffuse just principles through the popular mass; to become a parent, and to beget association upon association, until the slumbering powers of the general mind, awaken into general exertion; until a sense of common interest inspires, in one hour, and one tone of unison, a loud and universal cry of REFORM, reverberating from the hut of the peasant, to the palace of the peer; from the shed of the mechanic, and from behind the counter of the citizen, to the hall of the senate: the sense of the community can then no longer be smothered. Its powerful petition will solicit and obtain a dignified attention from the sovereign. The voice of majesty, as on a late memorable

memorable occasion, will be added to the voice of the people, and REFORM will unite with EMANCIPATION to cement an immoveable foundation for the throne of the monarch, and an impregnable barrier for the liberty of the people.

An association which possesses this elevated union of talents and virtue, will organise itself in a manner suitable to the purity of its principles. It will exhibit in all its movements, and in every department, the superiority of its aims. To guard against the *ambitious*, it will ordain that its official powers shall remain but for a short and stated period, in the possession of any one person; that the places of president and secretary, shall be held in rotation, and that no person shall possess either a second time, until it shall have passed regularly through all. It may be remarked, that by this mode, men of little note, or abilities, would come into office, and of consequence reflect little honour on the association. To this I answer, that any man who is worthy to be a member is also worthy to preside in the chair, or to act as secretary, and if his station of life does not reflect honour on the office, it is to be hoped that the office, if it be honourable, will reflect honour on him; if it be *not*, it is less matter who sits in it. I know it will be urged, that men of rank and talents ought to be always put forward in these situations, Why? to reflect honour on the society: such an answer can only be given by a weak man, or by one who would confine honour to a certain class. It is folly to suppose that the character of an association emanates from its chairman or secretary. If it were so, a man of honour, in the chair, would give an honourable sanction to a meeting of men the very reverse of himself, whereas it is obvious in such a case, that he could not reflect honour on them, though they certainly would reflect disgrace on him.

In

In the case of secretary, it is plain that it is not from the man who writes, but from that which is written, that credit is to be derived, and as it must only be ever a routine business, there is less reason why it should not be open to all in due course. If rank and talents confer honour on an association, which connected with integrity they ever will, it must be clear that in appearing destitute of the ambition of official situation, unless when called to it by just rotation, they reflect still more honour on it; as by so doing, they approve their motives free from the ostentation of popularity, and any other selfish view.* No pomp of declaration nor splendour of profession, can hold up the impartial principles of a popular assembly, so much, as a man of business occasionally presiding over its meetings where a number of men of rank, and professional talents sit as private members: this would be to do something more than to profess impartiality; it would be to practice it; and I repeat it, it is not by *public professions*, that a society is to obtain a CHARACTER OF INTEGRITY, but by the INTEGRITY OF ITS ACTIONS. It is my decided opinion that whatever power is exercised in a public body, and whatever credit may accrue to it, should be an *alternate and common possession*: wherever this is not the case, ambition starts forward towards the goal of abuse: men begin to suspect the sincerity of professions, and melt away, as they lose confidence in each other; or on the contrary, they resign the privilege of thinking for themselves: they blind-

* (Since writing the above,) In the Meeting of the Scotch Convention, Edinburgh Nov. 19.—Mr. Gourley moved, that Lord Daer be called to the chair, which was seconded by the Deputy Secretary, but opposed by Lord Daer himself, and by J. Gerald and C. Sinclair, as favouring too much of a spirit of aristocracy. Upon which, Mr. A. Callender was called to the chair,

ly sink into the infatuation of LEADERSHIP: they erect a few into a sort of *political idols*, whom they implicitly obey: by whom they are alternately led into danger, in which they are abandoned; or to injustice, of which they must bear the blame. These *idols* at length become to consider them, with some degree of truth, a portion of their private property, which they have a right to command.

The committees of a well organized association, should be open; the members should be chosen by ballot; their reports should be carefully examined, by the body at large, and should be fully and faithfully entered upon the journals in which the proceedings are inserted. * Above all care should be taken to guard against men, in the professional habit of making truth appear falsehood, and falsehood truth. A man whose trade it is to make a wrong cause appear right, and to make a right cause appear wrong, should be but sparingly attended to. Practice renders him fluent in the perversion of sense, and he is even more dangerous among honest men of common capacity, in proportion to his superior endowments. It is obvious that I allude to the profession of the law; a profession which I respect, and which is truly respectable, in the hands of men of probity and honour, but which as it is degraded by indigent and unprincipled retainers, is rendered as despicable, as it is injurious to society. Such men will be ever found in our courts, penniless, without a brief, and without character: to these a public association, presents an happy opportunity of obtaining friends and notice. Too jealous an eye cannot be had over the proceedings of such men. He who for a paltry guinea or two, undertakes to plead away the guilt of a parricide, or to assert the honesty of a high-

* The report of the Committee in my case, for the address to the Volunteers, was for *what reason I know not*, never inserted in the U. Irishmen's book.

wayman, possesses too much flexibility of principle, to be any where the object of much confidence. It is not in the disgraceful employment of Newgate litigation that a delicate sense of honour is to be acquired, or confirmed. To guard against such men it ought to be an inviolable rule never to permit more than two lawyers, however respectable, on a committee, even on a committee of constitution, * whose province it may be to guard against dangerous publications. The society of United Irishmen, is a proof that a committee of constitution though crowded with five or six lawyers, may mislead a society into the publication of matters, afterwards liable to the most dangerous construction. By such inconsiderate rashness, unsuspecting individuals may become liable to ruinous consequences, under which if not supported, they remain so many living reproaches to the body which impelled them on, justly fix a stain upon its principles, and by being deserted, occasion ever after, a suspicion of the purity of its views.

A public spirited association, may be compared to a state; it possesses its rights, its freedom, its solemn obligations, these it can preserve and fulfill *only* by watching over them. It can prevent the undue exercise of individual influence *only* by each member thinking for himself, and never permitting any man, on the strength of *past* merits to cajole him, into a *present* injustice, or to influence him to assent to any measure of which his reason does not fully approve. This salutary advice is the more necessary as the example which occurred in my case, in the United Irishmen, proves that by permitting one act of injustice, men may be led into another, by way of defending the character of the assembly, to which they

* Or of Correspondence.

belong,

belong, until by struggling to preserve the *name* of honesty, they are tempted to use the *dishonest arts of party*, utterly subversive of the end they seek. I repeat it, they must free themselves from the *slavish dominion of great names*, that curse of *leadership*, which has ever been an unfortunate characteristic of the Irish nation, and which has deceived them so often into an opinion that they were in pursuit of freedom and independance, when in fact they were only seeking for a *change of oppressors*.

A wise and patriotic association can effect its laudable purpose, of obtaining a general good by a legal means, *only* by reason and argument. The mode which most rapidly and widely diffuses information is, that which it will adopt and attend to. It is evident then that the press is the organ most capable to effect this object. It is the peaceable artillery by which a breach in the citadel of corruption is soonest made. An orator is heard only in the circle where he speaks. A printer who disseminates the language of liberty, may be said to speak at once in many thousand places. A printer who is a man of principle and ability is to association, what an able engineer is to an army : the association or the generals who sacrifice either by abandonment, must be miserably deficient in judgement or integrity.

On this head it might appear almost unnecessary to dwell, because the truth I have advanced must be obvious to all. Yet it is a melancholy fact, that in the society of United Irishmen the last consideration has been the support of the liberty of the press : the utility and the necessity of it appears there to be totally forgotten. The eloquent *Erskine*, in his masterly defence of Paine forcibly depicts the great and manifold advantages of a free press, and as strongly infers

infers the ill consequence of extinguishing its freedom, "TO THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS ALONE"—says that ornament of the English Bar,—*we are indebted for ALL the FREEDOM WE AT PRESENT ENJOY, and AND ON IT WE MUST FOUND ALL OUR HOPES OF FUTURE FREEDOM.* He dwells on this great political truth with all his utmost force and animation, and repeats the emphatic expression of an arbitrary and sagacious minister, Cardinal Wolsey, so far back as Henry the 8th, who strongly urged it on his despotic master,—**"WE MUST DESTROY THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, OR THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS WILL DESTROY US."**—We need not more apposite or striking arguments than these to illustrate the subject of my assertion.

I am persuaded that there are few subjects more talked of yet less understood, than the liberty of the press. I know of no authority which has so clearly defined the meaning of these words, as the great law luminary from whom I have just quoted : in his celebrated speech, on the above occasion, he endeavoured to impress upon the minds of the jury, that the liberty of the press consisted in *the printers being free to publish whatever they deemed likely to produce a benefit to the community,*" and on the contrary "*that the abuse of the press consisted in publishing with an intent to injure Society ;*"* on proof of which heinous crime, he very justly remarked, the printer deserved punishment in a very high degree.

Every man in his senses must allow that it is the interest, and the first duty, and the soundest policy of an upright, public spirited association to support the liberty of the press. Men differ in their opinions, how far that liberty should be supported. One felicitates himself that he contributes to do it

* On the just principle that the *motive* and not the *fact* constitutes the guilt—as in the case of killing in *self-defence* or by acci-

by taking in a news paper, and another by subscribing to a magazine : a third swallows half a dozen bumpers to that palladium of public liberty, and deliberately walks off to expel from an association of which he is a member, a printer, who had most steadily devoted himself to the public cause. To come at the truth, we must consider the *motives* and the *end* in view, in supporting it ; by this means we shall see how far it ought to extend as a *fixed and rational principle*. The MOTIVE is, *to prevent the printer from being silenced by intimidation, or by suffering in his property*. The END is, to keep THE PRESS OPEN FOR FUTURE POLITICAL DISCUSSION. Here then is a principle just and introvertible. Let us candidly examine how far have the society of United Irishmen acted up to it. In the case of the article copied from the Northern Star, that society prevented me from employing an agent and counsel, by solemnly engaging itself to support me under the prosecution commenced against me, this engagement it *totally neglected* during a period of near 12 months, leaving me by that neglect liable to the heavy consequences of an outlawry : this was the encouragement I received from them in the *first* instance. In the next I became liable to prosecution for publishing the address of the Society to the volunteers, to which I owe the loss of my establishment, and after a year of proscription, the temper of the times, giving every reason to expect that sentence would be passed against me of a tedious imprisonment, and perhaps a heavy fine, what did the Society for me after all? Did it in a humane consideration of the danger impending over my head, make up a compensation for what I had lost by it, and depute some of its members to present it to me, with an advice for me to withdraw from the kingdom? No.—Did it make a single effort to assist me in the difficulties in which it had plunged me, dur-

ing a year of danger, while it saw me ever on the brink of a prison? No. Did it pay me any mark of attention as a victim to the principles which it professes to *promulgate*? No, none; whatever. What did it do? It saw me forced from my establishment, and the moment I had lost that, abandoned me at once, to struggle with ruin: it neither required nor regarded, what became of me and my family. It seemed to confound me with the wooden materials of my press, which the moment it ceased to speak, was consigned to forgetfulness, as useless to it, and dead to the world. To my astonishment those men who had led me into danger, and who before crowded round me, lavishly bestowing on me the praise of ability and public spirit, grew suddenly cold. Unacquainted with my personal resources, and incapable of appreciating a disinterested spirit, to which they have proved themselves strangers, the *leading men* deemed that in losing the property of my paper, I had lost the means of independence. They chose to forget that if it was so, I had lost it in an honourable cause. They hastened to throw me at a distance. When occasionally reminded of the society's engagement to support me, they studied by a wilful want of memory and by petty misrepresentations, to sink me into a servile dependance, affecting to deal out a *look* as a favour of which I was unworthy, and a *word* as the highest condescension which they *ought* to bestow.

The termination of this business, will afford, I fear, but little encouragement to future Printers. * The Society of United Irishmen, supposed to be the first political association of citizens in Ireland, and to comprise the public spirit of the metropolis, after having ruined one of its members, the proprietor of

* A *culpable few*, dragged the well-meaning many into these dishonourable measures.

a public newspaper, devoted to the public interests, resorted to the meanest arts of prevarication, as will be seen in these pages, to avoid paying *only two hundred pounds*, to exonerate two more of its members, who had bailed him, when arrested for publishing one of its addresses. Nor did it stop here. Instead of seeking to *extricate* him from the danger into which it had plunged him, it laboured to efface from the public mind, every sense of his services; it sought to overwhelm him, by the circulation of unmerited calumny; it summoned him to attend a meeting, to permit an enemy, under the protection of the collective body, personally to insult him: it expelled him within a few days of the time when the sentence of a court was perhaps to confine him for years to a prison, and to load him with a fine, which might perpetuate that confinement to the conclusion of his life.

The Society of United Irishmen by this ill conduct, *totally violated* the PRINCIPLE OF SUPPORTING THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS: *far from preventing the printer from suffering*, they became the *occasion of his ruin*. Instead of *keeping the press open for future political discussion*, they have *utterly extinguished its spirit*. The example of what I have lost, and the ill treatment I have received, have so intimidated other printers, that no newspaper in Dublin, for a considerable period, has thought it prudent or safe, to insert the publications of the society, except merely that which announces its meeting.*

This is not the only ill consequence of such a proceeding. The association in doing so, appears deliberately to have committed suicide upon its own character. It will *now* find it very difficult to preserve any opinion of its virtue or impartiality. The

* It is not improbable that a *safe* publication may be written to obtain insertion in the Dublin papers, to *disprove* this hereafter.
reputation.

reputation of talents it will justly possess, but it has lost what is much more inestimable, the reputation of integrity. A loss more fatal, as that jewel cannot easily be regained; and *without it* PUBLIC CONFIDENCE, the ONLY ORGAN *by which it can co-operate to obtain* REFORM, *is forfeited for ever.*

As a public association must incur expence, to obtain its object, it must be supported by contributions, stated and occasional: the lighter these are, the greater number will become members. The same reason must render an *exact æconomy* absolutely necessary. How many advocates for freedom unwillingly submit to even a small expence in obtaining it. TWO points are therefore essentially to be attended to: The one, the most certain mode of forming a FUND: the other its JUST APPROPRIATION: for the former a committee of finance ought to be appointed, who ought not only to be men of probity, but of an active turn, possessed of sufficient leisure, and having the prosperity of the body to which they belong, warmly at heart: these requisites will stimulate exertion which often languishes where *self interest* is wanting. Experience proves where an association is numerous, and can afford it, it would be well to employ a person who can be depended on, to collect the arrears at stated periods, allowing a compensation for his trouble. This would lessen the fatigue of committees: payments would become regular, and the association would have something more to depend on than a nominal fund.

The remarks I have just made, apply to the *formation* of a fund, an object of the utmost importance, if we consider that it is by an established fund only, a society can hope to discharge its *honest engagements*, a circumstance upon which its claims on PUBLIC CONFIDENCE will ever depend.

a CLER-

The FORMATION of a FUND being an object of such high concern, it follows, it is an object of equal concern to preserve it when obtained, or more properly speaking, *wisely to appropriate* it. This can *only* be done, by establishing *fixed* PRINCIPLES OF EXPENDITURE, from which never to depart. When the MOTIVE *for which a fund is collected*, is duly considered the END *to which it ought to be appropriated*, will soon be ascertained, The MOTIVE is a PUBLIC GOOD, the DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL INFORMATION. The END, is to *defray the just expences of the association*: these are two-fold: the *one*, CERTAIN and ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY; is the *charges for a place of meeting and for PUBLICATIONS*; the *other* which is ACCIDENTAL, and OUGHT, IF POSSIBLE, TO BE AVOIDED, is the *disbursements to support members under imprisonment, and to discharge fines inflicted in cases of prosecution*. By saying that this latter ought to be avoided, I do not mean that members are to be brought into danger, and then abandoned: the public disgrace which has fallen on the men who led me into difficulty, and abandoned me, will I hope deter others from so abominable a practice. I only wish by the above expression to imply, that any *occasions* of incurring fine or prosecution, should be most carefully avoided.

Wisely to confine and regulate expenditure in the two channels just mentioned, examination ought to be made how far each is productive of *utility*. If a proper place of meeting be not chosen, an assembly cannot be formed: if the press be not employed, the purpose of assembling is defeated. Without these nothing can be effected; with them the great end of association, the diffusion of political information, can be fully accomplished.

The choice of a place of meeting should be regulated by economy, equally distant from parsimony and ostentation : commodious and secure from interruption, it should consult the convenience of the members, and oppose a bar to the intrusion of strangers. The latter is absolutely necessary to preserve the freedom of debate.

It being incontrovertible that the press is the *only* weapon by which association can co-operate, in obtaining REFORM, that mode of publication which most frequently impresses upon the public mind, is the fittest to be adopted, as likely to be *most efficacious*. A NEWSPAPER, therefore, being of this description, ought to be established by a public association, or at its command. This, if well conducted, will obtain circulation : appearing daily, or twice or thrice a week, by active repetition, it introduces a free spirit of inquiry, in the place of a passive and indolent acquiescence : it infuses a portion of energy into public opinion, and by exercising the judgment continually, teaches men to assert the right of thinking for themselves : the happy consequences of this circumstance are obvious ; the moment men think for themselves ; they break from the *mental vassalage of leadership*, hitherto the greatest curse of the Irish people. The moment a nation thinks for itself it is FREE. Men only are brought to act against their *collective* welfare by following the *partial* and *interested* opinions of individuals who abuse the influence of rank or fortune, under the appearance of public virtue. Examples every where occur of the pernicious consequences of public bodies blindly attaching their political faith to the voice of popular leaders. A considerable period back, the sense of the great majority of Irish Protestants was in favour of Catholic emancipation. That momentous measure

measure would then have been adopted, but for the popular Nobleman of the day ; his single opinion, founded on an exploded prejudice, retained three millions of Irishmen in bondage for near ten years. In like manner, to compare great things with small, the faith of the United Irishmen in *Simon Butler*, and *Rowan*, misled them from *neglect* to *injustice*, and from one injustice to another, to assent to my expulsion. All this was contrary to their own private opinion. But after six months imprisonment they deem that *Butler cannot err*, and they fancy they still behold the generous protector of *Mary Neal*, in the, *I would hope, unintentional* oppressor of the Printer, *Carey*.

The matter for publication ought to be suited to the comprehension of every capacity : It ought to unite vigour with perspicuity ; boldness with caution ; requisites to produce a general conviction of the truths which it conveys. To this branch of expenditure as the most useful, and that to which all the measures of association ought to tend, the great portion of the funds ought to be appropriated. All other expences ought to be subordinate to it.

There are many reasons to despair of an association succeeding in establishing a newspaper. The expences of it are too heavy to be long supported upon the limited scale of contribution which prevails in all matters of public spirit in this country. It may be said than an established newspaper is a lucrative source of emolument. I admit it : the point is, *to establish it* ; which I am strongly of opinion will never be effected by the efforts of an association. To use a common phrase, what is every man's business is no man's business. A literary committee may possess talents, yet jealousy, vanity, and indolence will prevent it from successful exertion. There must be an acting Editor of abilities to conduct the business,

ness, and no man of spirit will ever submit to the caprice, the controul and the censures of the number of persons who will deem they have a right to interfere in a matter which their money goes to support. Attempts of this kind may commence with all the *eclat* of a *brilliant prospectus*, yet I suspect they will ever end in loss and disgust. I ground this opinion on the fate of the National Journal, in some measure established to start for public favour against the National Evening Star, of which I was proprietor. The former was established by a subscription among the popular leaders, and it was supported by their interest. It was preceded by a splendid prospectus, and had a literary committee formed to contribute to its support. Public expectation of its success rose to the most sanguine height, yet after a feeble career of three months, going on day after day, from bad to worse, it sunk unnoticed, and might be said to be forgotten almost before it ceased to exist.

From the evident truths which I have advanced, it must appear to every man of reflection, that an association wishing to act with effect, if it cannot afford to establish a newspaper, ought to spare no just means to *acquire the command of one already established*: this can only be effected by two methods: to conciliate the proprietor of a paper whose principles lean towards those of the association. If such a man can be found, it would be wise to obtain an influence over him, *by adopting him as an honorary member*: Or if no such opportunity occurs, it would be prudent to gain one over, by allowing him a settled salary. Fifty or a hundred pounds a year, beside the usual rate of advertising, for inserting their Official Declarations, would be but a small expence compared with the utility of the object.* Economy

* After my ill treatment, I do not believe any printer of a newspaper would accept of this,

in this case would be a crime. One column of *sound argument* does more good, than half a hundred CIVIC FEASTS.

The reader who assents to the truth of these remarks, will have an opportunity of discovering the *real spirit and principles* of the LEADERS of the *Society of United Irishmen*, by comparing what he has now read with their treatment of the proprietors of newspapers who belonged to it. The one they insulted by a censure recorded on their books, for prudently hesitating to insert one of their declarations which he deemed might subject him to prosecution. This honest citizen they nevertheless involved in danger *afterwards*, and from I suppose *a foresight of what might happen*, he wisely withdrew himself from the Society. The other who freely inserted every thing, and who received their thanks for offering his paper *gratis* to publish for them, they brought to danger which produced his ruin, and at the very moment when he was about to undergo sentence for an address of theirs, they sought to crush him with infamy by voting his expulsion !*

Of the ACCIDENTAL EXPENDITURE, that is WHAT RELATES TO THE SUPPORT OF MEMBERS UNDER CONFINEMENT AND DISCHARGING THEIR FINES, I have already given my opinion *that all occasions of incurring it ought to be avoided* : This will appear just on a consideration of its consequences. ASSOCIATION *possessing* ONLY the POWER OF PERSUASION, must ever be weaker than LAW which can enforce obedience, and punish by capital infliction. Association therefore as the weaker body, ought never to be committed against LAW which is the stronger. A

* In addition to these two, the proprietor of another paper for years, known to be friendly to the cause of the People, I am told, has been twice proposed, and *insulted by rejection*.

contest

contest of this kind ought the more strictly to be guarded against, as it being one of the objects of association to reform abuses in the *laws*, which are sources of emolument to *Law Officers*, the latter will ever gladly embrace any opportunity to crush the spirit of association by tedious imprisonments, and to make bankrupt their funds by *heavy fines*. Association committed against law, may therefore be justly compared to a weak state at war with a powerful neighbour. Much spirit and ability may be displayed in the conflict; but the *latter* having the choice of its own ground to contend upon, possessing infinitely superior force and resources, and expending nothing, must inevitably succeed in overpowering the *former*.

I have said that much spirit may be displayed in so unequal a contest, but we too readily applaud what is in reality a dangerous and splendid illusion. The display of spirit which must end in defeat is rather an imprudence than a virtue. Had the view of the Spartans at Thermopylae extended no further than vainly to signalize their bravery, it would have only been remembered as an *illustrious insanity*. Three hundred Grecians could never hope to make any impression upon a million of embattled enemies. In possessing themselves of the difficult pass where they fought and fell they only sought to give time to their countrymen to rally and oppose the invaders. We are filled with admiration of men who voluntarily devoted themselves to death to save their country. It is the *great object which they fought to effect* which rendered what would otherwise have been rashness, worthy of record as one of the most exalted instances of heroic virtue.

When I recommend it as so essentially necessary that ASSOCIATION ought ever to avoid a contest with
LAW,

LAW. I mean that the nature of its publications should be most carefully looked into. This examination ought not, as I before urged, to be entrusted to a committee of Lawyers: it ought to be equally the duty of men of plain sense from the mass of citizens.* The press that formidable weapon, may be likened to a two-edged sword; by it *only*, the great object which is fought for can ever be obtained, by it also the great object of association may be lost.

An example of the foregoing truth occurs in the consequences of the Address to the Volunteers, and of the publication for which the Hon. Simon Butler and Mr. Oliver Bond were brought before the House of Lords. By the former a number of individuals have been involved, and are liable to prosecution. By the latter the funds of the Society have been made bankrupt. We applaud, as an act of spirit, the conduct of the President and Secretary when called to examination. How far we can deem it an act of prudence which eventually proved so injurious to the Society, is a matter worthy of consideration. Had it occurred to decline furnishing proofs against themselves, they might like Dr. Reynolds have been confined for a *contempt*, but they would have avoided the *heavy fine*. It is certain that no law exists in these realms to enforce a person to give evidence against himself in any case whatever.

There are but two opinions held upon this subject: The one approves the conduct of the Hon. Simon Butler and Mr. Bond, as a manly avowal necessary to support the principles of the Society. This opinion has latterly lost ground from obvious considerations. Another party condemns their open avowal,

* It is an error to suppose, that citizens are not qualified to think in such cases. It is only asserted by men who wish to make a property of the power and the means of association.

as producing no good purpose and having committed the weaker with the stronger power. It must however be acknowledged that Mr. Butler obeyed the motion of a decided spirit in giving his sanction to the publication, nor could the severest judgment have found any thing to lessen the eulogium due to such a conduct, if Mr. Butler had not previously known the state of the Society's finances. We may justly conclude, that the independent and public spirited citizen, Mr. Oliver Bond, copied his example from an impulse of equal spirit. We may also conclude he would have as readily pursued a different conduct had Mr. Simon Butler's judgment deemed it right to have adopted it. Men who are struck by the energy and eclat of prompt and unshaken courage will continue to approve the bold frankness of the President and Secretary. Men who reflect upon its consequences and who praise actions by the good effects they produce, will without throwing the smallest censure on either, wish that their answer had been dictated by a more safe and prudent policy, which without detracting from their spirit or shewing any disrespect to the House, would have equally avoided answering in the affirmative or negative.* They might have assigned for a reason in doing so, what I have already mentioned, that there is no law existing in this realm, to compel a man to furnish matter of evidence to criminate himself. The Society in this case might have had to support

* If Mr. Rowan was right in declining to give evidence against himself when apprehended in Edinburgh, Mr. Butler must have erred in criminating himself before the house of lords. In each case a sentence was pending. We cannot approve Mr. Butler's conduct as an act of spirit, without indirectly charging Mr. Rowan with a *want*, which is, I believe, the very reverse of his general character.

its members under confinement during the sitting of Parliament, but its funds would have been preserved. It could have since closed with the proposal to grant or lend a hundred pounds or even half that sum, to assist in establishing a newspaper upon its own principles. It could also have afforded two hundred pounds to avoid the opprobrium which it now lies under of betraying an individual into danger, and seeking to crush him with infamy in the hour of prosecution.

But prosecutions may be incurred by the publication of papers, in spite of every precaution. It is therefore a material question how far an association is bound to support its members under the consequences of such publication.

A public body which debates paragraph by paragraph on the subject matter of a written declaration, and votes for its being printed, published and distributed, must have an opinion that such a publication may safely be ventured on. This opinion is too often founded on the voice of its lawyers, these being by their profession, supposed to be better qualified than most others, to judge of what is prudent to adopt, and what ought to be avoided as dangerous. The Society has a faith in its collective deliberation, that it runs no risk in the publication, and, relying on the faith of the Society, that he runs no risk in printing or publishing, the unsuspecting Printer prints and publishes without hesitation. In this case he is but the *instrument*, and the association is the *primary agent*, and the *act* is incontrovertibly *the act of the association*. It must be clear to every capacity that the Society is in all such cases bound in honesty, to take upon itself the consequences of publication.

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A Society

A Society is bound to employ and to pay Agent and Counsel to support the Printer in case of any prosecution incurred by publishing any of their resolutions. It is also bound to pay any fine to which he may be sentenced, and to afford him a support during the term of his confinement ; this support ought to be regulated by an honourable economy, equally removed from parsimonious neglect and criminal profusion. A man of a delicate spirit in such an imprisonment, will never forget that the least worthy purposes to which the limited funds of a patriotic body can be applied, are those which convey the public contributions to the pockets of the cook and the wine merchant. Content with a virtuous frugality, he, himself will be first to set bounds to the generous expenditure of a committee of accommodation. Such will ever be the provident and honourable circumspection of *a man in earnest*. He will despise the ostentation of revelry, and will know that intemperate extravagance, bad at all times, but more culpable at the public expence, is equally prejudicial to his own character and to the interests of the common cause in which he is engaged.

A Society is bound to afford a similar support to any of its members who may be subjected to a similar sentence, for handing about any of its resolutions. The act of distributing a paper constitutes in the eye of the law the act of publishing it: The person so doing is liable to prosecution equally with the publisher.* It must be allowed that a Society which refuses to give this support to a Printer, or to any of its members under prosecution, for printing or distributing any of its resolutions, far

* The printer of a newspaper runs a *double risk*, by his oath at the *stamp office*, as will appear in these pages.

from

from being a public good is a public nuisance which every honest man ought to contribute to prostrate. This is undeniable. Even the Lawyers of the SOCIETY of UNITED IRISHMEN who brought me into danger and afterwards occasioned the Society to disgrace itself by betraying and ill treating me, confess that a Society is bound as far as I have stated, to give its support to those whom it may involve in prosecution.

It must be obvious that the support which a Society is bound to give in the case in question, is not solely confined to the particular mode now specified. A Society's interfering in such a case does not arise from their opinion that the Printer's circumstances require it; that would make it a measure of *benevolence* which it would be at liberty to withhold or bestow. Nor does it arise from a sense of the Printer's public spirit, that would make it still an optional matter of *reward*. Its support is granted because it feels such a step its *bounden duty* as a *debt of honesty*, which must either be discharged or its character of integrity will be justly, for ever, forfeited. It would be absurd to say that an institution designed to do good, is at liberty to adopt proceedings which may betray unsuspecting individuals to their ruin. The conduct of a public body ought in such cases not to be guided by the inconsiderate and *interested* voice of a *partial meeting* of its members. It ought to be founded on a just and fixed principle, from which no deviation should ever be made—"To be *productive of as much good to the community as lies in its power, but to avoid doing injury to any individual*"—The question then is whether it be any injury to a man to be dragged from a business which depends on his presence and exertions, and to be immured in a prison for one, two or three years?

years? Few men in their senses, I believe, will be at a loss to decide: Few at least whatever they may affect to say, would choose to submit to it. It may be said, that it is not always in the power of association to avoid involving a Printer. I do not assent to this, but if it were even so, is not the association still bound *in principle* to *free* the man whom it has involved, from the dangerous consequences, by every means in its power. To illustrate this I shall introduce the following dialogue, in a great measure founded, not *verbally*, but in the *spirit* of a recent occurrence.

PRINTER. Permit me to inform this association that I have been arrested some seven months since for publishing one of its papers. I have been bailed by two of your members, who are bound in the sum of two hundred pounds for my standing my trial.

ASSOCIATION. Well—be under no alarm; we will employ an Agent and Counsel to support you under the prosecution.

PRINTER. I thank you my friends, but the general opinion is that I shall be found guilty of the matter in question, and many sound Lawyers have declared that they think I shall be sentenced to a heavy fine.

ASSOCIATION. Depend on us, we will pay your fine be it ever so heavy.

PRINTER. Well, *suppose*, I have no doubt of your support, although (*looking round the place of meeting*) our meetings have been very *thin*, of late.—Yet I may be sentenced to be whipt—or pillored, or put into prison for a length of time, What then?—*can you bear these for me?*

ASSOCIATION. “Whipt! Impossible they²¹ never attempt that! As to the pillory we will attend you there and honour you with our huzzas—and
fo

for Newgate, you shall live sumptuously there ; we will dine with you every day, and pay for your dinners.

PRINTER. My friends, suppose you may be mistaken. The crisis which in Scotland, sentenced a * CLERGYMAN to seven years, and MUIR to fourteen years, imprisonment or transportation, on a supposition of seditious intentions, may behold similar severities exercised upon a Printer in Ireland, on a similar supposition. An Irish Judge in his late speech to the jury expressed his hope to inflict the punishment of any supposed seditious intentions, in BLOODY CHARACTERS upon THE BACKS OF THE OFFENDERS. What reason have I to suppose that a similar spirit may not influence a judge against me ? Have we not sufficient examples in the fate of DUN and DRIE ?

ASSOCIATION. *Dun and Drie !* why it must be confessed these are melancholy examples : but if the worst goes to the worst, you know it is *only going to Newgate*, where, as we already said, we'll support you *sumptuously*.

PRINTER. As to my *dining sumptuously* in Newgate, I have some peculiar notions of my own. I thank G—d I have always a comfortable dinner at home, in that society which is to me the sweetest in the world. I could wish not to be separated from it. No circumstance could atone to my little family for my being torn from it ; nor could any circumstance induce me to submit to their humbling themselves to reside in a jail with common felons.

ASSOCIATION. All this may be very true, but what have we to do with your feelings ?

PRINTER. I am sorry my feelings form no part of your consideration. I wish they did. To

* The Rev. Mr. Fysche Palmer, a senior fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge.

be short, even at a *fugate* rate, it would cost *more than two hundred pounds* to pay for an apartment for me, and to support me in Newgate for a year; from the temper of the times, I may be sentenced to an imprisonment of two, three, or four years, and to a heavy fine, at the discretion of the judge. It is therefore better for you my friends, as it will be *wiser and cheaper*, to exonerate my bail, by engaging to pay the two hundred pounds in which they are bound for my taking my trial, than for me to run the chance of imprisonment, and you the chance of having to support me in Newgate, and to pay a heavy fine,

ASSOCIATION. Two hundred pounds! to engage to pay two hundred pounds for *your* bail! The money of the society ought to be *carefully attended to*!—Beside there are two hundred pounds yet *due for wine drank in Newgate*.*

PRINTER. I am extremely sorry to hear it—but that debt is no fault of mine---I earnestly entreat of you my friends, to consider my situation, and that of your two worthy members who are my bail, I have for twelve months submitted without a murmur, to the loss of my establishment, from which I was forced by publishing the address of yours, for which I was arrested. If you exonerate these two men, I shall bear without pining, the heavy punishment of being for ever driven from my friends and my country.

ASSOCIATION. No, no, we'll not exonerate your bail, *we are only bound to support you in case you stand your trial, and are put into Newgate*. We esteem you very much, *but the society's funds are exhausted*! We acknowledge your public spirit, *but*

* It will appear hereafter when this expression was used to me.

two hundred pounds is a great sum! You can suffer nothing while we support you, but in fact *we are in debt*, as we told you, *and have not the money to pay.**

It will be obvious to every man what reliance the printer ought to place on *promises* of this kind. If a man's feelings constitute his happiness, he is certainly the best judge of what will injure them, without bringing his loss of property into the question. The association refusing its support only in case of his standing his trial, is unjust, and arbitrary in the extreme. Like the old judgment against witchcraft, it goes to shew favour *only* to the man who is willing to *sink*: it is a total violation of the fixed *principle* which ought to be invariably observed by every public body, "to do as much *good* as possible, but *never* to do injury to any individual" a principle which, if the latter part bear any relaxation, ought to be construed into this sense---"to do *as little injury as possible* to any individual." Now it is evident, the mode adopted by association, in the case alluded to, is neither avoiding to do *any* injury, *nor* endeavouring to do *as little as possible*.---It is not taking to itself the consequences of its own act: it is no more than taking to itself the very unfair authority, to fix what sort of injury or injuries it will think proper to constrain the printer to submit to, and as whipping, the pillory, transportation, or confinement for a few years, happen to be more to its liking than indemnifying a man for his losses, and exonerating his bail, they gravely tell him, unless he will stand his chance of the *former*, they will abandon him to his fate, and as in my case, support him by the *honours of expulsion*.

* If the *small* sum of 200*l.* cannot be afforded in this case, how will the *greater* sum for supporting the printer *sumptuously*, and paying his fine be raised?

ASSOCIATION and the unfortunate printer thus coupled, may be very aptly likened to Goldsmith's excellent story, of the giant and the dwarf; the latter being enticed out to assist the former in battle against a powerful enemy. In the heat of the fight, while the giant smote all before him, the poor dwarf felt the whole weight of the enemy's blows fall on him, "Courage!"—cries the former, "my little friend!"—see what *honour* WE obtain!—"Alas!"—replies the dwarf—I faint! I am hard pressed, and severely wounded."—"Po, po, wounded, quoth the giant, "never mind *that*! don't you see how *I bear it*,"—"Yes, but my dear friend," groans out the little warrior, "my left hand is cut off, and I have lost my sword! for G---d's sake assist me to retreat from the danger, you know you brought me into it"—"Brought you *into* it! I brought you out *to fight*! and ~~not to retreat~~, I'll support *you only while you stand by me*, and if you attempt to retreat, you may die and be d---n---d!

The case is exactly similar with association and the printer, whom it refuses to support, unless he stands his trial. The writer of the matter in question, and the body which issues it, strut about loaded with the honours of patriotism and a literary reputation, while the poor printer, after losing his establishment, and being dragged from his family, is thrust into prison, to suffer the buffets of the law, as his share of the honour arising from the political warfare.

It would be absurd to say, that a General ought never to retreat before a superior enemy, whatever consequences might threaten his attempt to stand the field. The same reasoning applies to ASSOCIATION, committed against law; where the loss likely to be incurred by standing a trial, threatens
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to amount to much more than any advantage which can possibly accrue from doing so, it must be obvious to every man in his senses, that both prudence and policy ought to suggest, "a good retreat is better than a bad battle." A skilful general deems it, wiser to leave a portion of his baggage behind, than to hazard the ruin of his army by his stay; association ought, in *prudence to itself*, even *setting honesty to the printer* out of the question, to pay his bail in a small sum, rather than hazard his imprisonment, and payment of a double, perhaps a threeble sum, for a fine, and for supporting him, by forcing him to stand his trial.

A *promise* in many cases must be allowed to be a *very good thing*, but I believe there are few men who would not prefer *performance*. Now in the case alluded to in the above dialogue, association *only promises*, and, that *promise* is not *always* followed by *performance*, Experience proves in the instance of the society of United Irishmen's solemn engagement to support me, under the prosecution commenced against me, for the article copied from the Northern Star. Their solemn engagement was nevertheless deliberately violated from day to day, week to week month to month, term to term, during the space of a whole year, notwithstanding my repeated applications to the different lawyers of the society. It is a common remark, and I believe a very just one, that a person who suffers *once* may blame the man by whom he is ill treated, but if he leaves it in the power of the same person to ill treat him again, he certainly deserves *himself* to bear the blame of the second ill treatment: if we apply this to a printer, and association, the printer must be egregiously to blame, who could place a dependence on a quarter whose breach of faith he had already

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suffered

suffered by---besides what reliance can be placed upon a promise of future support, and the payment of a fine, when that promise is accompanied with *an acknowledgement of owing more than it has means to pay*, amounting to an utter incapacity of discharging its just debts let them be of what nature they may.

It must be allowed that association undesignedly may involve itself in prosecution. If such a want of precaution be censurable in a very high degree, it is less so where the body manifests an honourable promptitude to do every thing in its power, to extricate the man who may be so unfortunate as to be subjected to danger by it. But it ought to be an object of enquiry, with every honest and thinking citizen, by what means an association, whose funds were known to be limited and uncertain, should so exhaust itself in a single case of six months imprisonment,* as not to be capable of affording a small sum, where the personal liberty and future welfare of one of its members were at stake: a man whom it had helped to force from his establishment, and had involved in prosecution, and who looked for nothing, but that the society should discharge his bail in case of an arrest, which he had incurred by publishing one of that society's addresses. Ought not the *leading men*, who take to themselves the merit of any good that has been done, and who generously bestow all the blame of their own errors on the mass of honest citizens; ought not they, when directing the expenditure, to have suggested something like a system of œconomy? They were placed in a situation where delicacy and honour would have gloried in exhibiting that generous *self-denial*, which is ever their attendant. *They had the PURSE of association in their hands; they*

* This was more unpardonable as it was not known but every member of the society who had distributed the address, was involved in *Prosecution*.

they knew its weight, or rather its *lightness* : they were themselves in the habits of severely condemning the profuse expenditure of the public revenues : they knew that prosecutions were pending against other members, for acts of the association, and that these men might be sentenced to fines and confinement, all of which ought to be paid from that purse which they were exhausting.*

I know not by what name we should call that sottish infatuation which abuses the sacred name of public spirit, and imposes upon the credulity of a well meaning people. Under the command of GENERAL APPETITE, with the cook and vintner as *aid du camp*, and the purse of association as its military chest, it takes the field against the corruption of the higher powers. *The irregular Marauders of the LAW*, wrapt in the glorious obscurity of their profession, scour the purlieus of the city, as a *foraging* party in the *van* : PHYSIC full of *tremulous and provident energy*, armed with a pomp of words : scatters her *simulative manifestoes* in the *rere*. The banquet is the field of battle : rumps and dozens are the breast work and artillery : a bumper toast is the word of command, and after a campaign of six months carousal, Association sneaks out of newgate, to disgrace her name in the bankrupt calendar : her lawyers take their places at her meetings, full of their important atchievements ; sighing a *requiem* to the manes of the *flesh-pots departed* ; eager to incur a fresh occasion of festivity, and resolved to set their faces against the exoneration of bail, or the payment of any just debt, which affords not a prospect of a greasy chin, and plentiful libations to the confusion of the common enemy !

After

* This *unprincipled profusion* in one case produced *unprincipled desertion* in the other.

After a campaign like this, we need not be astonished if Association appear to glory in the divorce from her husband, PUBLIC OPINION, by whom she was so lately espoused. We may lament, if intoxicated, seduced, and polluted in the embraces of BRIEFLESS LAW, she no longer preserve the *courtenance of virtue*, after the *loss of her honour* : or, if, only attentive to the support of her paramours, and the counsel of her betrayers, she should grow incapable of distinguishing her friends from her enemies,—should become forgetful of her solemn engagements, and should appear destitute of the *will* and the *power* to discharge her just debts. Sensible of her fallen character, she may become more solicitous to patch and to paint her emaciated beauty, by the whitewash of resolutions, upon resolutions, and addresses upon addresses, than to retrieve the jewel reputation, by the energy of virtuous actions. —Visibly perverted from the end of her creation, and no longer discerning her beneficent object, need we be surprised at any of her proceedings ; if like a taper expiring in the socket, she exhibit a momentary flash, or, like a dying hectic she assume a fallacious appearance of vigour: then we may behold her in her last struggles, aping the strut of a *maudlin stroller* in a barn, attempting to terrify with the *thunder of the mustard-bowl*, and launching the SQUIB of EXPULSION in all the mighty indignation of pantomimic solemnity !

What a precious conclusion of the political farce, which we have seen played upon the public stage, for the benefit of beef-eaters, and the corps of convivial artillery men employed on the occasion ! In every scene, Indigence and Want of principle, exhibited with wealthy Egotism, and Imbecility as prime ACTORS : the former successfully played upon

upon the latter; the latter paid the *music* to excite a *clap* from the multitude. Folly shouted her applause, but Honesty sat out of countenance; Virtue was constrained to play the mute, and Truth being detected shedding a tear over the grave of public spirit, was suspected to be a libeller, and unanimously expelled the meeting. The whole of the piece formed that jumble of inconsistency, where the belly was called on to think for the head, and the arguments were drawn from the bottle: the bill of fare was consulted as the volume of wisdom, and five courses were the plenitude of patriotism. The art of *sinking* was so exquisitely studied, that, scene after scene the imagination was wound *down* to the completion of the *catastrophe*, and the *last act* happily displayed the profound powers of political science, by which good is the result of chance, and error and injustice the production of deliberate system.

The appropriation of the funds of association being the question on which I am at present, the digressive animadversion I have just fallen into, is highly apposite. One example has more force than a hundred arguments; I shall now resume the immediate object of enquiry on which I was engaged.

That "an association is bound *not merely* to SUPPORT, but *if possible* to EXTRICATE any person whom it may involve in the dangers of prosecution"—— is I believe a principle so clear and just, that every unprejudiced mind will at once admit it. I do not think that even the lawyers of the society of United Irishmen could have courage enough *directly* to deny it; but it must be apparent that these public spirited men, would be unfit to lead worthy citizens, if they had not ingenuity enough to *split* a point of truth, so as that the half which may suit their

their purpose, shall be really true, though *not the whole* truth. Their ability in the way I allude to, is happily exemplified in their designedly substituting the word SUPPORT, where they know they ought to use the word EXTRICATE. Tell one of these, that "association is bound if possible to EXTRICATE those whom it may involve." The ingenious barrister appears to assent "Yes—association is bound to SUPPORT those whom it may involve," and by putting the word "*if possible*" before "SUPPORT," there is a most excellent loophole for an honest set of *logical leaders*, afterwards to impel association into a total desertion of its unfortunate victims.

I believe the public have a pretty fair notion of the *justice* of the subtle reasoners who have so successfully contrived to pass off a *promise* of SUPPORT for an *act* of EXTRICATION. I shall, however, make one remark which will more strongly paint their *real principles*. SUPPORT is to EXTRICATION, *where extrication is possible*, what FIVE SHILLINGS IN THE POUND is to FULL PAYMENT, *where full payment is possible*; a *composition*, or rather a *fraud*, which a swindler may go through with, but which a man of integrity would perish before he would think of attempting.

Cases may occur, where the person involved in prosecution may deem it less hazardous to stand his trial, than to withdraw from it. This should, in justice, be left to his own option: in such an instance, the employing counsel and agent, ought not to be left to the care of the lawyers of the association. The society of United Irishmen fell into this error, which produced the violation of their first engagement to support me, and all its train of disgraceful consequences.

I have

I have before remarked, that the *official honours* of association ought to be a *common and alternate possession*. This would be unfair, if any trouble which might occur, were to be thrown as a burthen upon any particular profession. It is true, if lawyers betray an association into the adoption of a dangerous publication as a safe one, (this was the case in the publication which brought Messrs. Butler and Bond to the bar of the lords, and also in the address to the volunteers) in common equity they ought to exert themselves to extricate it. But as commonequity and common law are often very far removed from each other, a reliance ought not to be in any case placed upon the latter where it can be avoided. The shameful neglect I have just mentioned ought to be a sufficient example. If the mass of citizens can be once taught to think for themselves, the like will ever be avoided: Were it even assured that the lawyers would faithfully discharge the trust reposed in them, there is still a strong reason why it ought to be preferred, to employ such as are *not* members of the association: It is proved that lawyers who are known to be members of association, have not the same weight as others would have in a court, on any cause involving the association, or any of its proceedings.—

Justly to proportion its *means to the end* in view, is the part of wisdom: economy therefore is the sheet anchor of association, as I have already enforced. It is necessary in cases of confinement, to have a *fixed principle* of expenditure to resort to.* The object should be to afford social cheerfulness, rather than to overburthen the person in confinement, by a multitude of company. Where *one* only is imprisoned, the table should never be covered for more than four persons; to consist of himself and
three

* This fixed principle should form a part of the constitution. Through a want of this the U. Irishmen became *Bankrupts*.

three others: he should have leave to ask *one* of these himself, who, at his option might, or might not, be a member of the association: the remaining two ought to be members, as it is proper, that the whole of the association who bear the expence, ought to be invited, according to their seniority on the admission list. The money to support this ought to be drawn from the funds, not to be levied by *arbitrary summons* issued to the members, informing each individual, that on such a day he was to cover a table and to bring *but two of his friends*. In the manner I propose, imprisonment might be supported at a laudable expence: not as was seen in a late instance, where the members of the association instead of having two friends to support in prison, had daily to give a festival to ten or twelve persons, and oftentimes to a still greater number.*

I know it will be said that the mode I condemn has the advantage over that which I recommend: that it is effected without drawing on the funds, the person called on to give a dinner, being taught to consider his doing so, as a distinct duty from his contributing to pay the fine, and that in the case alluded to, it did not lessen any individual's grant, as the list of contribution, with the names of the members and the sums, they chose to give towards the fines, annexed, were procured before the issuing of dinner summonses was intimated. To this I answer, that any thing which looks like a *finesse* ought ever to be avoided: I am of opinion, that there can be no mode devised to induce a person in his senses, to advance six, eight, or ten guineas, which will prevent his feeling that he has advanced it. It is my opinion also, that many, if not the greater number of men, whose pockets tell them that they have given two, three or four guineas, towards a fine, and

*To produce an opposite conduct in *future* the *past* cannot be too strongly reprobated.

and three or four guineas to cover a table, at one part of the year, will be apt to assign that expence as a reason why they cannot contribute a single shilling towards perhaps a similar case, a few months afterwards. This is so well known by experience, that it alone ought to be a sufficient reason to enforce the system of regular œconomy, which I recommend; I do not mean as to the *exact mode*, but its *principle*, which ought never be lost sight of.

The most important events are produced by trivial causes, an attention to *minutia* is therefore indispensibly necessary. I am clearly of opinion, that the sum to be allowed for the support of, persons in confinement, ought to be fixed. Perhaps a guinea daily ought to be deemed a very sufficient allowance for the table of two, including such as ought to dine with them. I am more particular in this, because I am confident no person of delicacy would wish to take advantage of his imprisonment to live at a greater expence, than he is accustomed to at his own table, especially knowing the inadequacy of the funds from which support is to be drawn.

To procure chearful enjoyment for the confined, ought to be the object: the drawing together a crowd of company is not necessary for this purpose. When three or four are confined, a table ought not to be covered for more than five or six persons, the expence to be encreased in proportion to what I have already stated. I mention this because I would not be deemed to insinuate, that if a table for four be allowed to one in confinement, the table ought to be covered in proportion, where more are confined. Should the persons confined wish to invite a greater number of friends than what I have specified, they ought to do it *at their own expence*, a cir-

cumstance which every man of spirit will instantly accede to, or rather be *himself*, the *first to propose*.

Where the individual imprisoned is so circumstanced, that he is deprived of the means of supporting his family, by the loss of his liberty, a committee composed of honest *citizens*, ought to be chosen to enquire *how* ar he is aggrieved, and to encrease the grant for his support *accordingly*.

For the present I close my observations on popular associations. Without the smallest regard to the *feeble censures* which a *fallen party* may endeavour to raise against me, I have delivered my opinions. Opinions not *new* to me, since almost every United Irishman, with whom I have conversed these eighteen months, has heard me deplore the causes on which they are founded. The mode in which I write, hastily detaching sheet after sheet, wet to the press, has prevented that exact arrangement, which more leisure would have enabled me to bestow. It will also excuse many inaccuracies of style, which unavoidably steal upon the pages of a man, whose pen travels *post*. The same openness and promptitude which the public did me the honour to remark in my conduct, when printer of the National Evening Star, and the same wish to be of service, will I trust, appear in this. The writer who thus avows his thoughts, needs not a borrowed signature. I have with a determined hand, struck at the disgraceful practices, which have hitherto stigmatized the public spirit of this country, and gradually flung a night of dishonour on the name of an association once so respectable. This society has fallen by its own errors. A want of system left room for unprincipled and ambitious men, to employ it in the most deliberate acts of injustice. The mass of citizens with the best of intentions, but not
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in the habit of thinking for themselves, or of asserting their own opinions, are unwillingly ruled by a few, whom they condemn and obey. The few elated with the lead of a popular body, forgot its beneficent aims, its principles; they forgot themselves. They flattered themselves, that loudly to denounce the errors of administration, constituted the sacred character of a patriot; that the pomp of words was sufficient for the praise of public spirit. It is plain, their talents were more suited to such purposes, than to the judicious organization of a public body; so as to guard against itself falling into errors. The influence which they obtained by professions of public virtue, they mistook for a legitimate authority, which, scarcely in possession of, they hastened to abuse. The Genius of Liberty beheld her infant sanctuary already polluted by the vicious profession, the inordinate vanity, the collusive tyranny, which are most contrary to her pure principles. She beheld an injured man singled out to be the victim of their *imaginary* power; a man whose conduct would perhaps have met reward, and whose misfortunes would have been his protection, had those who attempted to oppress him, possessed either honour, honesty, or manly spirit. She witnessed him summoned to their petty tribunal, to be insulted by the *insolent falsehoods* of one possessing the *ferocious inclinations* of a MARAT, but *destitute of his talents, his courage, his political fanaticism*. She beheld a mock trial, which set every form of justice at defiance, and would force the accused to criminate himself: where without evidence, or the shadow of evidence, on a loose surmise, his *spiritless enemies* hurried to pronounce sentence of condemnation, and to exhaust their whole store of infliction upon the object of their vengeance. Fortunately, the merciful Denouncer and his

his good friends, had not authority to levy a fine, or to plunge in a prison; they could not command the pillory, the halter, or the guillotine; if they could, where the *will* was so manifest, the *deed* would have rapidly followed, and the Printer of the people would have been hurried to a dungeon, or have perished by the bloody and summary process of the 2d of September.

The public spirit at present, may be likened to a ship in a storm, with seven feet of water in her hold: the command usurped by men equally vain, unskilful and arbitrary, in whom the CREW have no confidence, yet by whom they are blindly impelled, wanting fortitude to examine into their own danger. I have pointed out the *rotten* timbers whence the *leak* sprung. Let every honest heart as boldly exert himself, and we shall soon see her safe moored, in thorough repair, in the haven of Public Liberty.

R E T R O S P E C T
OF THE CONDUCT AND PRINCIPLES OF
W. P. C A R E Y,
LATE PRINTER AND PROPRIETOR OF
THE NATIONAL EVENING STAR

O YOU—the PEOPLE—you, whose sacred cause
I made my first, and still my dearest theme:

Of which I grew enamour'd with my years;
As though it were a means of health and life,
More prized than worldly treasure rich and rare,
Wherewith to deck my body in array,
And crown with fame and fortune all my days!—

O YOU—the PEOPLE—you, whose glorious name
Enkindl'd spirit in my boyish breast,

And to my childhood gave the pride of man;
As with a glowing heart, I scann'd the page

Recording lost *Juvenae's* fate of old,
When PEACE affrighted fled, and ruthless WAR
Spread desolation on our hapless isle!—

O YOU—the PEOPLE!—you for whom I've paced
My lonely chamber, the long winter's night,

With moisten'd eye and feelings up in arms,
Musing upon your wrongs, and choosing forth

Fit speech, to thund'r in Oppression's ear:
What time, the low'ring tyrant of the north

High o'er the world his gelid sceptre rais'd,
Binding the streams in ice and sadd'ning all

The face of nature, with a waste of snows:
Ev'n then—unheeded of the biting frost,

While the embers in the hearth grew cold
For you the PEOPLE! have I toil'd my brain,

Nor felt the absence of the summer heat,
Till, to a snuff consum'd, the taper sunk,

And darkness drove me to a matin sleep!—

O you—THE PEOPLE! you, for whom I cast
Myself, my prospects, and my means away,

All but an honest name!—Is it fit
That I should yield that precious jewel up

To the vile cavils of a hollow crew?
Or shall I—when my spirits take the field,

And firm resolve on cool reflection waits,
Shall I a dastard lesson take of fear,

When the great PUBLIC CAUSE is trick'd by *shams*
Of senseless OSTENTATION?—shall I start

At sullen, envious shadows! dense and foul!
Mere bubbles full of vapour, which my breath

In brave derision can disperse in air?
O never! never!—this brief span of life

I hold of value—only held with honour!
Else not at all!—

W. P. C.

TO THE
CANDID AND UNBIASED JUDGMENT

OF

THE PEOPLE,
OF IRELAND,

THIS APPEAL IS

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED.

BY THEIR DEVOTED SERVANT,

W. P. CAREY.

HE who is passive under ill treatment, invites a repetition of injury :—who is silent under unmerited slander, betrays a want of mental sensibility which degrades him to the sordid level of animal creation : like him, the instinctive brute is inaccessible but by *corporal sense* : by blows and wounds his blood must flow, to awaken his resentment ; to excite defence. Man alone, rises superior ; conscious of an immortal mind, of the value of a good name, he toils to deserve it ; he watches over it with an honourable solicitude ; he sets his life upon the hazard, to perish or defend it, when unjustly attacked.

In this situation I feel myself. For twelve months I have submitted in silence to the ruin of my prospects. I have been driven by proscription from society. Forced to fly from Dublin, to change my name, and to conceal myself for safety ; I saw day after day pass away, the sentence of a court suspended over my head, the prospect of a prison before me. I witnessed the solemn engagement of a public association to support me, for supporting its professed principles, *deliberately violated*. I felt myself deserted by men whose *professions* I unfortunately relied on, and who were bound by every honest principle both public and private, to stand by me in the dangerous predicament in which they have involved me. *I was silent under all this*, not because I did

I did not deeply feel it, but because any publication might have reflected discredit on the public cause. I still buoyed myself up with a hope that there was enough of courage and virtue in the mass of citizens to obtain me justice, and to vindicate the Society. While I had that hope, I repeat it, I was SILENT. The grasping hand of monopoly, and a spirit of deliberate injustice have extinguished that hope. A PARTY, not satisfied with what I have suffered, and incapable of appreciating the disinterested motive of my silence, misconstrued it into a want of spirit. Struggling to cover their own neglect, their want of principle, their inconsistency, they labour to deepen the cloud which surrounds me; to blacken me by the most odious and despicable inventions; not content with deserting me, they stir all their powers if possible to crush me with infamy in the very hour of prosecution. They at length force me unwillingly upon this defence, which will cover them with dishonour. It not infrequently happens that the malevolence which is designed to injure an individual recoils upon its authors, and becomes a source of benefit to the intended victim. I have recently experienced the force of this truth. The deliberate oppressions planned against me by certain members of the Society of United Irishmen, have covered themselves with shame, and strengthened the public sentiment in my favour. Dispassionate and reflecting men beheld with surprise all that spirit of injustice which is the professed object of reform, realized upon a confined scale in the bosom of an association founded to oppose injustice, and to struggle for reform. They discovered in its leaders the same lust of power, and the same proneness to abuse it, which these men affected to denounce in the constitutional authorities. With a mixture of astonishment, concern, and indignation, they witnessed a conspiracy set on foot, if possible, to ruin the character of a Printer who had lost his establishment by devoting himself to the popular interest, and who was marked out as an object for destruction by the ruling power; this man they beheld vilified, insulted, betrayed, and abandoned in the hour of trial, by the very men who had led him into danger! by a society, whose professed principles he had zealously supported—a Body which was twice pledged in his defence, and whose public thanks he had received!

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The revolution of 1688. established in these realms the right of the collective body to resist oppression. An individual does not lose this right by entering into an association instituted to co-operate in obtaining a *redress of grievances*. on the contrary, effectually to fulfil that beneficent object, he is called on by his general right and his bounden duty, courageously to oppose the *abuse of power*, and the *creation of grievances*, in the body of which he becomes a member. If the common welfare requires him to oppose injustice where his fellow is a sufferer, it would be absurd to say, that he is not to oppose oppression, or that he is to be silent under it, where he is himself the object of injustice. In this case the common welfare and the first law of nature command him to stand up, to repel, to vindicate.

Although the spirited opposition of the people prevented a tyrannical Stewart from introducing a despotic government into these realms, yet I shall be told, "that to oppose the errors of established government tends to *treason and rebellion*." In like manner I shall be told "to oppose the injustice of the Society of United Irishmen, is a treason and rebellion against its *professed principles*." This is nonsense. That which is designed for a good purpose, but which is perverted to a bad, ought to be opposed, and if it contains not the *germ of self amendment*, it ought to be regenerated by *common consent*.* The point which makes opposition to any government or association, virtuous or criminal, is the proof whether either are perverted to a bad purpose or not? In the case of the United Irishmen the public are the judges. In the former the whole nation only is competent to judge, and the present state of France holds out a terrible warning, that the necessity should be strong indeed before any thing like a revolution should be attempted in any other country.

My enemies cannot deny that I have ever been uniformly devoted to the *cause of the PEOPLE*. It cannot be justly asserted, that I commenced the TRADE or PROFESSION of PATRIOTISM with the TRADE or PROFESSION of NEWSPRINTERING, or that I made use of *one* to *sell* the *other*. My political opinions have ever been founded on this simple principle, "that OPPRESSION *ought to be resisted*;
that

* Catholic wisdom obtained the common consent of King, Lords and Commons, for emancipation.

that loyalty is due ONLY to PROTECTION.—This principle, which includes an *abhorrence* of the ABUSE of POWER, wherever it exists, originated with my powers of reason, grew by reflection, and strengthened into immoveable conviction with my years. I have ever acted consistent with it. Whether the ABUSE of POWER lorded it in the senate, or usurped the sacred form of public spirit, it was alike odious to me; my passions, my prejudices, my principles and my reason rose up in eternal enmity against it. Conviction and feeling impelled me to employ the pen and the press against the higher powers of corruption; to attack the slavish system of Catholic aristocracy; to level the arrows of ridicule at Protestant ascendancy. Consistent with all the tenor of my public conduct, I *now* rise to oppose the ABUSE of POWER in the Society of UNITED IRISHMEN.

For a length of time the public has witnessed this principle displayed in various productions of my pen, which have appeared in the different periodical publications of Dublin. Ten years ago a number of pieces of my writing in favour of liberty were inserted in the General Evening Post. I afterwards continued to send Essays, &c. to the Evening Packet, and at different times to almost every other paper which was open to the VOICE OF THE PEOPLE. With these several detached political pieces came out in small pamphlets, which served to give me, perhaps, no unfavourable introduction to the public.

In all these early productions it was easily discoverable, that I wrote more from the impulse of a well-meaning mind, than from a thirst of literary reputation. *I never devoted my pen as a hireling, for pay*, nor veiled the honest freedom of my sentiments. I drew no interest from the success of the papers with which I corresponded, nor was I intimate with their proprietors. I may therefore, without any imputation of vanity, be permitted to say, that my conduct was allowed to be disinterested, and my principles approved of by the real friends of the people.

So early was I convinced of the indispensable necessity of a union of the Irish people, that nearly seven years ago, during the celebrated contest between Dr. O'Leary, and the Bishop of Cloyne, among other political prints, which I designed and engraved, I published one in which Dr. O'Leary

Dr. Campbell the celebrated Presbyterian clergyman were depicted joining hands at the altar of peace. Hibernia was represented in the act of recommending a UNION of the two persuasions in these words—"Forget your past unfortunate dissensions; let this meeting be the bond of your UNION, and you will be able to obtain from the *fears* of your oppressors that redress which they refuse to the *justice* and *mildness* of your petitions."—In another political engraving on the same controversy, the following words occur—"Let Irishmen remember—the freedom of Ireland, her powers of combating and defeating the oppressive schemes of her foes, her commerce, prosperity, and political salvation, *all depend upon the cordial UNION of her sons*"—and in another on the same occasion—"On the ruins of falsehood, prejudice, and persecuting bigotry, the temple of Irish concord shall rise, reared by the hands of a brave and injured people, whose UNION *only is wanting to render them FREE*."—These engravings are still in the hands of many persons in Dublin; they appeared in March, April and May, 1787, and are unequivocal proofs that my political principles have not been latterly taken up to serve a paltry temporary purpose. The Society of United Irishmen of Dublin was instituted the 9th of November, 1791. The Prospectus of the National Evening Star was written by me towards the end of August 1791, and it was printed two months before the Society's institution. In that it will be found that I still preserved the same sentiments of UNION, though expressed more forcibly than ever in the following sentence. "THE UNION OF THE PUBLIC VOICE ONLY IS NECESSARY FOR THE PUBLIC FREEDOM; for, what is *justly demanded* by the *energy* of millions, ought *not to be refused* by the *prudence*, and *can not be withheld* by the *resistance* of a FEW."—It is easy to see that the grand principle which I recommended so earnestly, was that UNION of *talents and virtue* by which *public confidence* must be conciliated and the people united so as legally and peaceably to obtain that reform which is their wish. Day is not more opposite to night than this principle is to the union, or rather the petty cabal of physic and law, in which talents are united with, and subservient to injustice and ostentation; and the pomp of words is used to draw some twenty or thirty plain well-meaning

meaning men to a meeting who sit in silence, assenting to what they condemn, and panic struck by imperious rulers, who browbeat and insult any man presumptuous enough to glance at their selfish views, or to question their dictatorial authority.

With a decided prepossession in favour of its principles, the National Evening Star was ushered into notice, at a crisis, perhaps, the most important in the Irish annals; at a period when the Catholic body animated by the efforts of a few individuals rose from abject prostration into public notice. The writings of Jones, Mc. Kenna, Tone, and several other literary patriots, had recently afforded a candid review of the Catholic question. Divested of the loose dross of vindictive falsehood and credulous misrepresentation, it exhibited a melancholy and memorable picture of the evil effects of religious animosity. The national character emerged from the sanguinary gloom of past times in sad but not unamiable colours. The Irish, a brave and generous people, *ever well-meaning, but ever hurried into error by weak and unprincipled leaders*, appeared for ages the destined victims of stern ambition and intolerance. Divided, distracted and subdued, proscribed and driven into exile, their talents abused, their valour fruitless, the hard fate of our ancestors awakened the compassion of the liberal Protestant community, and served as an example of UNION to the Catholics of the present day.

While the perusal of these writings infused a portion of reflection into the middle class of Catholics, a number of valuable men of that persuasion issuing from *behind the counter*, and from *the counting-house*, possessed of integrity and ability, of zeal and prudence, attracted the public notice. Among these the great character of KEOGH was rapidly developed. His penetration, his courage, his ambition, his unbounded talents, his great powers of persuasion exerted for the public good, proved a source of public benefit. Distinguished by these happy qualities, and eminently fitted for great occasions, he succeeded in infusing his own spirit into the torpid mass of three millions of his countrymen. United with him appeared that estimable character EDWARD BYRNE, whose name is rendered so conspicuous by the determined manner in which he came forward in the common cause.

His

His influence, extending through almost every trading town and city in the kingdom, wielded at will the commercial interest of the Irish Catholics. His known probity, his great property and connections gave importance to the cause which he espoused, and in a great measure ensured its success. These men, accompanied by a number of others equally honest and zealous, hastened to decide the last combat between the Catholic aristocracy and the great body of that persuasion. The struggle was not of long continuance. Scarcely had the influence of the Catholic peerage sunk under the nobler ascendancy of reason and justice, when firmness took place of imbecility in the Catholic committee; decision succeeded to delay, and measures at once ample and salutary, vigorous and prudent, led up the Catholic question to dignified discussion in the senate, and to the gracious recommendation of our sovereign. Truth overcame every opposition, and the memorable year which first saw the Catholics break from the fetters of prejudice, *to think for themselves*, beheld them redeemed from the CURSE OF LEADERSHIP, and peaceably emancipated from the galling shackles of the penal code.

Previous to this great question having assumed the shape of petition, and while the Catholics of the metropolis exerted themselves to excite the co-operation of their brethren in the provinces, the first number of the NATIONAL EVENING STAR was published on the 10th of November 1791, somewhat more than two months previous to the meeting of Parliament. Just then a number of pamphlets appeared in opposition to the Catholic claims, and two court Journals teemed with reprobation of the friends to that cause. The STAR took at once so decided a part that the fears of its friends were excited least a well meant zeal might hurry beyond the bounds of prudence, and lead to danger; these fears were more strongly felt by the very few intimates acquainted with the circumstance that the STAR owed its *sole* support, excepting a few occasional paragraphs, to my pen. This, however, was purposely held secret. I very well knew that with a certain class the dominion of *names* is too strong to make it prudent for me to avow my writings until they should have a fair trial before the public. The event verified the propriety of the experiment. A
number

number of men (some of whom are now my denouncers) who would feel hurt to acknowledge any merit in the style of the *Printer Carey* were first to point out the beauties of JUNIUS HIBERNICUS. These letters at once obtained a circulation for the paper, and acquired an encresing reputation for the UNKNOWN author. The very reasoning which I had heard condemned in my conversation, was applauded in JUNIUS HIBERNICUS. I had the satisfaction to hear daily enquiries made after the author, and they were by turns attributed to some of the most celebrated political writers of the day. Some months after, when their character was sufficiently established, I did not scruple to avow myself the writer of these letters, not indeed much to the satisfaction of many who had been most loud in their praise while they surmised them to be the productions of some or other favourite member of the learned professions.

I know not any words which will more fully convey an idea of the trouble which I had in labouring to establish the *National Evening Star* than the following extract from an address of mine to the public, on occasion of the first prosecution commenced against me relative to an article copied from the *Northern Star*, exactly one year after the commencement of the paper,

Extract—"It may not be amiss to state that the *Star* is the favourite child and hope of its father the present proprietor. To establish it he quitted the cultivation of the fine arts; free from the bustle of a public life, and capable of procuring him a genteel competence. For the first three or four months, his pen was employed 10, 11, 12, and sometimes 13 hours out of the 24, producing four, five, six, and sometimes seven columns of original matter, under various signatures, in every publication. If this severe application was productive of intellectual fatigue, it was not unattended with a rational satisfaction; a popular character was established, and a hope of the NATIONAL STAR becoming one day the ORGAN OF THE PEOPLE. Sincerity, assiduity, and an honest zeal compensated with a generous public for any defect of ability. Their candour recognised the language of a man in EARNEST, and they overlooked a ragged type and bad paper in a good intention. If they did not often meet with the common topics of metropolitan

tropolitan scandal, they beheld satire occasionally employed to the laudable end of driving public enemies from the foreground of intolerance to the less culpable station of inactive obscurity: if they rarely met with the mean intrigues of corporation feuds, they were pleased with the bold expansion of sentiments which felt for the injuries of every class of Irishmen, and embraced the interests of the nation. They read, and were not much offended. They sat in judgment and their verdict hailed the proprietor of the Star with the honourable appellation of the **PRINTER OF THE PEOPLE.**"——

At the end of four months I felt that intense application had impaired my health, and was constrained to relax a little, which I was the better enabled to do, as the reputation of the paper had by that time procured it some occasional correspondents.

The celebrated work, the Rambler of Dr. Johnson, has received much additional praise from the circumstance of his having written the papers of which it is composed for a London newspaper, in which they regularly appeared twice a week. I am not vain enough to make this remark as attempting any other proof than that of the extreme labour which fell on my hands *solely to support a newspaper by my own pen.* Rational men will not, however, think it any improper pride in me to derive pleasure from the reflection that I *more than attempted* so very arduous an undertaking.

My success was not only beyond my own hopes, but contrary to the expectations of all my friends and relatives. That there existed strong grounds for doubt will appear from the following circumstances:

For some time previous to the appearance of the National Evening Star, the active partisans of reform were of opinion that the system of the established papers precluded the publication of matters sufficiently spirited to awaken the great body of the people to exertion in pursuit of that grand object. In like manner the friends of emancipation, embarrassed by an unfortunate division in sentiment, and assailed by a powerful opposition, felt the necessity of having a public paper open to them, and wholly at their command, at once to check the power of the Catholic aristocracy, to repel the attacks of enemies and to defend the common cause. A coalition

coalition was founded on this sentiment, and a well-intended plan formed by a number of respectable and wealthy men to establish a newspaper to answer these laudable purposes. This favourite print was to be supported by their purses, backed by the influence and interest of all the popular leaders and that of all the popular party. If ever a design was well conceived this was so. A literary committee was chosen in order to pour through this public organ the bold and manly eloquence of genius pleading the cause of liberty. That committee was composed of a number of men reputed to be the ablest political writers in the kingdom. A gentleman of acknowledged learning and abilities was selected from our College to act as editor. A beautiful new font of types, new presses and other materials were bespoke, and the *clat* of every stage of its preparation so strongly impressed the public with a favourable opinion of its success, that my most sanguine friends, sensible that it was to start for the same goal of popularity as the National Evening Star, gave the latter up for lost, deeming that I must sink at once before so deserving and formidable a competitor.

The alarm which such a prospect sometimes occasioned to me only tended to inspire me with a resolution of redoubling my efforts. *I could not command success*; I was at least determined to *struggle to deserve it*. I depended *somewhat* on my own indefatigable exertions, *much* on an honest intention, and *more* on a liberal-minded public. I drew a presage, similar to that which I draw, *on publishing this appeal*, that the people seeing a well-meaning individual likely to be overborne by a powerful combination, would espouse his cause; and to be candid, I looked forward, *as I now do*, for the hour of trial as an occasion of *honour* rather than of *danger*.

At length this paper appeared; it was called the NATIONAL JOURNAL. The public were disappointed—My presages were verified. The public favour centered in the National Evening Star. The proprietors or founders of the National Journal became sensible that the great objects for which they instituted that paper, were pursued with more spirit, a *live* repetition, and infinitely greater effect in the National Evening Star than in it. They perceived that the circulation of the National Star encreased, and that of its competitor was confined, made way heavily, and gave little
hope

hope of its ever being a public favourite. Considering all this, they deemed it wiser to relinquish their plan, which was a heavy and constant expence, and to yield me a temporary assistance. Thus after three months competition the National Journal sunk, and instead of following a party which was ever contrary to my nature, I had the honest satisfaction of beholding the real party of the people attach itself to me.

The good consequences of such a circumstance to me, must be obvious to every man. It was looked upon as a triumph, and as a proof of a superiority of the most flattering kind; but while I obtained by it no mean degree of reputation, I found on the other hand in devoting myself to the great questions of reform and of a Catholic emancipation, that I had materially injured the interest of my paper.

The very numerous and respectable acquaintance which I possess in Dublin, enabled the National Evening Star to commence with eleven columns of advertisements, independent of the positive promise of near forty persons more to send me their advertisements during the winter. With such a support I had of all men the least occasion to step into *decided principles* in favour of reform or emancipation. I had nothing to do but to tread in a beaten path; to cry out against the police, and to dwell upon the necessity of a place bill, a pension bill, and a few lesser matters: these, with an assiduous attendance at a few civic feasts, and bringing with me a fresh manufactory of bumper toasts, would have entitled me to the name and the praise of patriotism, without running any risk of obtaining enemies. I knew this, but I wished to render the press of more utility than merely filling up the senseless cry of interested opposition. I devoted the whole exertions of the paper to the great questions then pending as objects most worthy of the national pursuit. Acting upon this principle soon procured me a number of enemies. The shafts of JUNIUS HIBERNICUS and of SCRIBLERIUS MURTOUGH O'PINDAR flew thick, and every publication added to the reputation of the paper, but at the same time added to the number of my enemies. The *Catholic aristocracy* felt sore, and that numerous party and its friends became hostile to me. The *Protestant ascendancy* received every hour a fresh wound, and every hour multiplied the host of my enemies. I did not know that where public friends
were

content to praise, public enemies successfully laboured to injure me. Day after day advertisements were withdrawn, and many advertising acquaintance in doing so, informed me that they could not think of encouraging a paper which gave offence to so many of their most respectable friends and intimate connections.

If I had then consulted *my own interest* as much as some others have done, who now affect to talk of a *parleying panic-struck minority*, I would have parleyed with *self-interest*, and have been *panic-struck* by a sense of the powerful enemies which acting up to my principles created. I do not affect to say that I foresaw the ruin of my establishment in such a conduct. I knew indeed that it would produce me some injury, but I hoped not a material one. I deemed that in devoting myself to the service of the public, I should at least obtain as many friends as enemies, and that the one would be as ready to support me as the other to do me injury. It never entered my mind, that the men who affected to volunteer on every occasion of public spirit, and who were loudest in the cry of REFORM! would, after daily witnessing my assiduity, and applauding the integrity of my principles, be *the first to desert me*, when they ought to afford me protection. If their *professions deceived me*, I believe they for a time *deceived others* also. Indeed it would have required a penetration little short of prophecy, to have foreseen that these very persons, who affected to advise me to caution, would cajole me into danger, and after destroying my establishment, when a long year of obscurity and proscription had rendered my name synonymous with that of misfortune, that they would mislead a public Association into an attempt to crush me with infamy in the hour of prosecution, and (to make use of the forcible expression of the patriot WILLIAM TELL) “*to consign me to a prison, spotted and leprous like a common felon.*”—These men, however, have only injured themselves: of their views the public, whether justly, or not, now entertain a mistrust. They cannot help thinking, that the men who abused their influence in a small circle, to commit one act of *premeditated injustice*, would if entrusted with power on a larger scale, abuse it to commit a thousand. It is the assertion of a writer acknowledged to be best acquainted with human nature, “that the tyrant of a cabin would be

tyrant on a throne." If this be true, my enemies by their flagrant injustice to me have not injured me, but have given warning against themselves, and will be *confided in accordingly*.

To enter on a detail of my conduct as a printer is unnecessary. The Catholics do me the honour to remember it. The friends and family of Mr. J. N. Tandy must recollect that for four or five months I devoted a column or two in each publication to supporting his cause, when the hand of Power fell heavy on him, and others were perhaps not so forward in his vindication. The Public who witnessed my assiduous attention to their interests on every occasion, are not imposed upon by the ridiculous *inventions* of a few men who know no other mode to excuse their unmerited ill treatment of me than that of aiming the shafts of calumny at my character.

The circumstances which attended my entrance into the Society of United Irishmen being a remarkable instance of the rewards to be expected by a printer who dedicates himself to the public, I shall here state them. An unfortunate difference in sentiment had for some time existed between the majority of the Catholic committee and one of its members, to whom the Irish Catholics are certainly much indebted, but who on that occasion, appeared to me to be in error. From a conviction that the measures of his opponents were well-timed and efficacious, I was, as proprietor of a public print, under the unpleasant necessity of censuring the conduct of this gentleman; I did this with more regret, as I had some opportunity of knowing his many good qualities in the course of a few occasional visits which he favoured me with. This circumstance induced me privately by writing, to express my disapprobation to him of some part of his conduct which fell under my eye, and with which I was liable to be implicated. I did this in the most respectful terms, previous to any public notice of it in the STAR, but failing of effect, I found myself in the discharge of my duty to the public, subjected to the enmity of a person for whom I had previously an high esteem.

It was at the period when the displeasure of the gentleman to whom I allude was at the height, that I was urged to become a member of the Society of UNITED IRISHMEN.
must

I must own I had at that time no great wish for this measure, as I deemed it a part of my duty to censure that society as well as to applaud it, where occasion might require either, and I foresaw that I could not be equally free so to do, after becoming a member, as I was before. To add to this, the gentleman whom I have just mentioned, being a member of the society, and possessing considerable influence not only from his acknowledged talents but from his agreeable qualities as a companion, I foresaw an opposition to my reception which I mentioned to those who wished to have me enter into the society: my objections, however, were over-ruled. It was proposed by Mr. *Hamilton Rowan*, (then President) and seconded by Mr. *J. N. Tandy*. As I foresaw, a powerful opposition was raised against me by the anger of the gentleman in question, and *when not present to defend myself*, previous to my entering the society, the *spirit of party* rendered my name as much the subject of *unwarrantable liberty*, as the *spirit of party* has lately, in that society *in my absence*, and with as little justice in one case as in the other. My conjecture was verified; my friends resting secure on the known propriety of my principles, made no exertion in my favour. My adversary was indefatigable against me, so that the impartial character of the society was stained by the circumstance of its being made the instrument to gratify a private pique; and in this first instance, by being blackbanned I had an early specimen of the *rewards* which a printer zealous in the public cause must expect to meet with.

I was on that occasion indebted to the polite attention of Mr. Rowan, who wishing to prevent my meeting a doubtful, and what perhaps he deemed a disagreeable issue, informed me some days previous to the ballot for my admission, that he had heard *it was intended to black-ban me*, which he mentioned to me that I might have an opportunity of avoiding that circumstance if I thought proper. Being fully conscious that no just reason whatever could be assigned for opposing me, and being ever of opinion that men who act unjustly only disgrace themselves, and not the person whom they injure, I felt careless *as to myself* what the issue might be, and informed Mr. Rowan as much, thanking him at the same time for his well meant intimation.—It is certain, how-

* Mr. Rowan's proposing me proves that he esteemed me a proper character to associate with which the reader ought to remember.

ever, that on the night of balloting a manoeuvre was practised against me, to which the success of my opponents was owing. It had not occurred to the President to count the number of persons in the room previous to the ballot, and after having balloted, several of my side withdrew, without waiting the result; this being noticed from the opposite side, after the beans were counted, and it appeared the ballot was in my favour, an objection was made that there were more beans in the box than persons in the room: on this a fresh ballot was demanded, and on the issue of this stratagem I was blackbeaned by only one, two, or three, I am not certain which. It is known that a similar stroke was attempted against me afterwards, on my being again proposed and balloted for at another meeting. But Mr. J. N. Tandy, the president for that night, had foresight to guard against it by having the meeting counted previous to the ballot, and by placing a person to count all who came in while it went on, so that it was defeated; although the same opposition being made, I was within a point of being again blackbeaned: the rule for admission is *one blackbean to four white*. There appeared for me 43—against me 10. Majority in my favour 33. I have stated this business exactly, by way of shewing the miserable shifts to which my enemies are reduced in seeking for grounds of calumny against me, since my being blackbeaned when first proposed in the Society eighteen months ago, was assigned as one forcible reason why I ought to be expelled, on the night when the omnipotence of the society, the lawyers, did me the honour to will my expulsion. Men of sense and consideration will perhaps deem it no very solid reason why a man ought to be insulted a *second time*, merely because he had been insulted without cause *once* before. They will view this business in its true light, and will consider the decided majority in my favour as a strong proof how well I stood in the public opinion. My friends were more than *four to one* against my opponents, and the former included the leading characters in the society. My adversary is a man of respectability and talents. These circumstances of respectable friendship and enmity would not have attended an individual either obscure or inconsiderable in the eyes of the Society. Had I been of the same consequence as the man who did me the favour, and his friend Mr. John Sheares the honour, to second his motion for expelling me, I might, as clerk to a lottery-office,

office, have had the *chances* in my favour, of *gliding in and out* of the Society without being either *honoured* by the *notice* of an *opposition*, or *expulsion*. I must also remark here that my *adversary* was as a member, personally known to the whole of the society, and that I was not personally acquainted with six members of it on the night of my admission. Their support of me resulted from their knowledge of my principles as proprietor of the National Evening Star, and to the general approbation of my conduct it was owing, that the whole efforts of the adverse party could muster only ten against me, including their leader. Every part of this business will forcibly point out to future printers what *sort of benefits* are likely to result from their attempting justly to discharge their duty to the public cause, as in this case, by doing so, I gave offence to an individual, who was in the *first instance* allowed to make use of a *popular society* as an *instrument to assail me*, and was very near a *second time* employing it to a similar purpose. Whether the *discredit* of this justly belongs to the society, or to me, I leave the public to judge. I should not have touched upon the matter but to shew the *candour* of those who have been so wholly at a loss for matter against me as to be under the necessity of attempting to *misrepresent* it to my *disadvantage*.

Perhaps no proof in existence could so forcibly point out the injuries which I have received by struggling to adhere to the right line of my duty, than that which I have just related. The matter by which I had incurred the anger of the gentleman alluded to, was my censuring the Anythingarian publication, which was known to convey a ridicule of the Catholic committee and United Irishmen. That publication, and the body from which it issued, I opposed and completely defeated, and on being afterwards proposed in the Society which I had served, I was blackballed by way of reward for my trouble!

I have already stated that the multitude of friends of the Catholic Aristocracy, of Protestant Ascendancy, and of the higher Powers, had early taught me to feel the effects of their enmity, by exerting their influence to withdraw from me the countenance of such of my advertising friends as they could prejudice against me. This evil which I felt daily I saw but two remedies for. The one was to *abandon my principles*

principles, and to render the STAR a neutral paper, so as to give offence to no party; the other was to devise some possible mode of reducing the heavy expenditure of the paper. It is certain that by doing both of these, I might have fixed myself on a foundation secure from the prosecutions of powerful enemies, and the more *shameful persecution of affected friends*. I however chose rather to attempt to reduce my expenditure than to silence my principles. The established amount of wages for compositors, press-men, clerk and porter, amounted to about £.10 weekly. By making some additional exertions, and by taking in apprentices, I hoped considerably to lessen this sum. I accordingly advertised to take apprentices without the customary fee, and by discharging my clerk added to my former weight of business, his duty, which perhaps I was less fitted for than I was for any of the other avocations which fell to my share.

When considerate men have fully reflected on the manner in which I have sacrificed my own interest, to what I deemed the public good, they will feel an additional concern in the *issue* of struggles which my bitterest enemies are forced to own were intended for the service of the community. They will perhaps be not less inclined to say, that my tenacious adherence to my principles merited a *different* return than that which I have met with.

Indeed I believe it has seldom fallen to the lot of an individual to go through a greater variety of employments daily than I had on my hands. To preserve my interest with my old advertising friends and to obtain new, I had a daily round of visitation to make through the principal streets of business. To collect in money due for advertisements, I had also a number of calls out in the day. As I had neither editor nor writer, all the literary labour devolved on me. Besides essays to write, I had to run over the London, the Dublin and country Irish papers; to digest the packets, to make extracts and to furnish articles of domestic intelligence, and of general observation. I had also to run to the coffee-houses to pick up the news of the day; to attend the theatre in the season, in order to give an account of the performance, and the parliament house, to take down debates. The poetry of the Minstrel's Asylum was principally mine, of which I have since seen many little pieces selected into English, Irish, and American

American publications. When I add to this that I had to correct the proofs, to write the letters to country correspondents, and to act as my own clerk, which as I have already said, I added for a long time latterly to my other labours, it will appear that my hands were pretty full, and that the fatigues I underwent admitted but of little relaxation.

Persons acquainted with the routine of a newspaper will more clearly distinguish *how much I have lost by my public principles* by knowing how fitted I was for that situation, as my intimates know that I not only went through all I have just mentioned, with a degree of ease to myself, but had leisure to visit and to be visited by my friends. The extensive circulation of the paper and the reputation which it obtained are proofs by which the public may judge in what manner I acquitted myself in so arduous a situation. The knowledge of these circumstances is necessary to shew how much I might have effected for *myself* had I thought proper to unite with such assiduous application the *prudent selfishness* of playing in with the contending parties, and rendering myself serviceable to *none*, by which I might in a great measure have *pleased all*. It was thus in my power to have avoided enmities and have obtained friends. Though such a conduct held out to me the most flattering prospects of an independent establishment for life, with all the respectability attending on the circumstance of its being founded by my own exertions, yet I could never so change the bias of my principles as to silence that train of thinking, which in hours of solitude and reflection, had "grown with my growth, and strengthened with my strength," so as to become in some measure a part of my being, and essentially necessary for the happiness of my life.

I shall now hasten to the first circumstance which produced the interference of the Society of United Irishmen in my favour, as I then deemed it to be.—On the 3d of November, 1792, I copied out of the Northern Star, a Belfast paper, an account of the public rejoicings of the people of that town, for the successes of the French over the Duke of Brunswick. This matter I inserted word for word in my paper, the National Evening Star. A few days after I received a notice from his Majesty's Attorney General, of an intended prosecution against me for that insertion. On this circumstance

circumstance being known, a motion was made in the Society of United Irishmen to support me under the prosecution about to be commenced against me. This motion was grounded on the general tenour of my public conduct, in supporting the great questions of CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION and REFORM, to labour for which two momentous objects the Society was pledged. The motion was not opposed, but an amendment of it was proposed and carried—"that it should be referred to the Committee of Constitution to take into consideration the nature of the publication for which the prosecution was intended against me."—I was not myself present when this motion was made, but next day I was informed of these particulars by Surgeon Wright, a member of the society, who enquired of me if I had received a summons from the committee of constitution to attend them on the morrow (Sunday) at the Hon. Simon Butler's house, where they were to meet. I informed him I had not: he then told me I would receive one, as it was their intention so to do. Not receiving any summons I waited within next day until past one o'clock, and then attended parade with the Dublin Independent Volunteers, to which corps I belong, and about 3 o'clock returning home from the Green, I met the Hon. Simon Butler and Surgeon Wright in Aungier-street. The former enquired why I had not attended the Committee of Constitution? I told him that I had not received a summons so to do, or I should have certainly attended. On which he observed that I *ought* to have received a summons, and that the committee had made a report that they had met to consider on the case in question, but that I had not attended to give the necessary information. I was on this advised to write to the chairman of the committee, to inform him that the fault of my not attending ought not to be attributed to me, but to *the neglect of summoning me*, as if I had been summoned, I would have most certainly attended. This step was necessary, as on the ensuing Friday, when the report was read which stated my non-attendance, the eyes of all the members present were fixed on me with an expression of enquiry and disapprobation, which was only done away by my letter to the chairman being read, which pointed out the *neglect* that had occasioned my absence. On this I was requested by the Hon. Simon Butler

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to attend the committee of constitution the ensuing Sunday, which I did, and having given what information was required of me relative to the publication, I withdrew. On the ensuing Friday the committee gave in its report to the following purport, though not in these exact words—"that it appeared to the committee that the prosecution about to be commenced against me was for asserting principles similar to those of the society. They deemed it therefore a part of the duty of the society to support me legally and constitutionally under the prosecution about to be commenced against me for the publication copied from the Northern Star, and inserted in my paper on the 3d of November, 1792."—

Some time after, I received a notice from Lord Clonmell, to appear at law on a time appointed, to answer in the above case on the charge of the crown against me for said libellous publication, of which notice I enclosed a copy to the chairman of the committee of constitution.

In passing the resolution just mentioned, the Society of United Irishmen proved its conviction of the necessity of supporting the liberty of the press; unfortunately its own loose and unmethodised organization prevented it from going a step further in the business than what was sufficient to disgrace itself. It solemnly engaged to support a printer, and afterwards not only deliberately deserted him, but premeditatedly attempted to crush him with infamy in the hour of prosecution.

It is however to be remarked that at the period when that resolution was passed, the meetings of the society were numerously attended by respectable citizens of probity and property. The very great majority of these have long since discontinued their attendance: yet such is the deplorable weakness of even sensible men, that many of its present respectable, well meaning members, who feel deeply wounded at this falling off, being known, sit down contented without ever dreaming of making any inquiry into the puerile and unjustifiable conduct which has *caused* the defection they wish to conceal. These worthy men are not aware that *secrecy is the mother and nurse of crimes*: they ought to reflect on the expression of *honest WILLIAM TELL*, that patriot virtue is a plant which becomes barren, and engenders rottenness and worms in darkness and obscurity: it requires the

broad light and warmth of the day to convey succulence to its branches; to mellow its fruit in due season: it seldom shoots into the colossal vegetation of Roman grandeur, unless invigorated by the storms of free discussion and restrained by the generous hand of just and fearless reprehension. The medical members of the society know that there are unwholesome tumours which cannot be cured but by *scarifying*. Of this kind is that unwholesome tumour the proud inflation of political inviolability affected by certain men who having obtained a share of popularity, by professing a zeal for the public good, are weak enough to think they can retain that popularity by the commission of deliberate injustice.

Immediately after, I deemed it proper to express my sense of the promised obligation, in a manner consistent with the general tenour of my conduct. Hearing from several members that publication was in some measure restrained by the expences attending insertion in the public papers, I forwarded an address to the Society returning thanks for its intentions in my favour, and offering the National Star *free of any expence, to the Society*, for the insertion of its future declarations: This address was referred to the consideration of a committee and after some weeks the Hon. Simon Butler reported from that Committee "that they entertained a proper sense of the offer which I had made, but deemed it juster that the expence of publication should be borne by the collective society than to fall upon an individual: they were of opinion that the thanks of the society were due to me for my disinterested conduct and that every member of the society as far as might lie in his power was bound to encourage and support me in my profession as a Printer."—This report was assented to unanimously and *most religiously adhered to* as far as *entering* it upon the Society's books, could be called adhering to it, but beyond that, it turned out, like its other resolutions, to support me, and that in favour of Irish manufactures, *Vox et preterea nihil!*—Reminding one in some measure of the promises of Goldsmith's *good natured Man*, only with this difference, that the latter promised without the ability, but with the hope of performing, whereas, it appears, that the *administration* of the Society, promised with the ability, but without the intention of performing, in any case, except where the Right Hon. Members of its own
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Privy Council are concerned; there indeed, performance treads close upon the heels of promise, and *official bulletins*, at once, excite the astonishment, and assail the feelings of the nation, full.

“ Of valorous resolve, and dread emprise,
From Knights who set their dauntless courage forth,
By trumpeting a challenge to the MOON,
For *daring to illumine its proper sphere*
And *shine so much above them* :—or who tell
Of calling forth the HILL of HOWTH to fight—
And boast *it feared their perilous assault* !”

Although the circumstance of a Public association having resolved to support me under prosecution might be deemed a flattering proof of the Public approbation, I found the evil consequences of the pending prosecution almost immediately. I have already pointed out how far the support of the *National Evening Star* depended on my personal exertions: this was generally known to all my acquaintance and connections in business: the latter took alarm at a circumstance which threatened to involve my personal liberty, and with that, not only the prosperity but the very existence of my establishment: the general opinion was that I should be clapt into prison and that the paper wanting my presence, must fall. People believed that, as a printer most active upon the popular side, I was marked out to be run down by prosecutions, and looking on me as already ruined, those to whom I stood indebted sent in their demands to me. This was not all I found at the same time that I had lost a part of the customary credits of my business, from the same opinion entertained of my precarious situation.

Men of business will judge how injurious this opinion must be to a man who did not possess wealth, though deemed to possess in himself, the means of acquiring it. When these unpleasant circumstances occurred I was after having passed over the heavy expences of the dead summer, which is unproductive of advertisements to news-printers, and I had just come into the advertising season, which is their day of profit. Just then a more serious evil befell me. On
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the 18th of December I published for the Society of United Irishmen its Address to the Volunteers. The circumstances which attended the appearance of this celebrated paper are of so extraordinary a nature and tend so fully to develop the preposterous partiality which prevails in the Society of United Irishmen that they demand a particular statement and attention.

On Friday the 21st of December Mr. Hamilton Rowan was arrested on a judge's warrant, by Mr. Oliver Carleton, an officer in the police, on a charge of having distributed seditious papers among an armed assembly on the preceding Sunday. It was that day rumoured through town, on a *supposed* declaration of Mr. Carleton, that he had similar warrants in his hands against Mr. Thomas M'Donnel Printer and Proprietor of the Hibernian Journal, Mr. Randall M'Allister Bookseller and Printer, and W. P. Carey Printer and Proprietor of the National Evening Star, all for Printing and Publishing a seditious libel: the first stood charged with printing it in the Hibernian Journal on the 17th of December. The second with printing it on a flying sheet for distribution on the 15th of the same month. The third with printing it in the National Evening Star, on the 18th of the same month.

On the Evening of the 21st, at the meeting of the Society of United Irishmen the following resolution was passed and published in the Dublin Newspapers, I copy it verbatim to open the eyes of the well-meaning members of that society, and more forcibly to prove to them, that while they least suspected it, they were made the instruments of nourishing an odious spirit of aristocracy which covertly aimed at a monopoly of the *means* of protection afforded by the Society, and of the credit resulting from its exertions: a monopoly unjustifiable in any case, but more glaringly so where a body of men embarked in the *same cause*, run the *same hazards*, and ought in reason and equity, to receive the *same public notice* and *protection*.

SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

W. DRENNAN *in the Chair*.

Friday the 21st of December 1792.*

RESOLVED unanimously, that this Society do on its rising, adjourn to Sunday evening next at eight o'clock, in or-

* It appeared in the N. E. Sta the 22nd.

der to receive the report of their committee of constitution, on the matters referred to them relative to the prosecution commenced against Archibald Hamilton Rowan, and James Napper Tandy."—

It is to be remembered that at the time the above resolution was passed, *only* Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan *had been arrested*. That a warrant was out against any other person of the Society was ascertained no otherwise than by **ASSERTION**, the *only mode* by which an association can collect evidence, as it cannot *legally* tender an oath, in any case. The Assertion I allude to was that of Mr. Rowan, the Hon. Simon Butler, and Dr. Burke, the two latter having bailed the former, asserted, with that gentleman, that he had been arrested and that they had bailed him, this *assertion* was deemed *good and sufficient evidence to ground a resolution* on, and it passed without the shadow of an objection, from any lawyer in the Society, and an extraordinary meeting of the Society was summoned for the ensuing Sunday evening. It must be evident that I do not mean here to hint any doubt of the assertion of Mr. Rowan and his friends. I simply state facts which speak for themselves. But I am of opinion that if the honourable impartiality ruled in the Society of United Irishmen which ought to be inflexibly adhered to in every popular assembly, the assertion of these gentlemen would not be respected a whit more than any other three members of the Society, or rather that the word of any other three members should be respected as much as theirs: yet on the night when the exoneration of my bail was moved, the assertion of Mr. Mathews, and Surgeon Wright, that I had been arrested and that they had bailed me supported by my testimony, was rejected as insufficient evidence to ground a motion on. As there is no acknowledged **PRIVILEGED ORDER**, in the Society of United Irishmen, I ask in the name of common sense and justice; why this very unfair distinction, where no honest reason for a preference can be advanced. Three United Irishmen, one of independant fortune, the other annexing the word Honourable to his learned profession of the law, and a third being I believe, a *learned Doctor of Physick*, give in their assertion as evidence before the Society of United Irishmen that the gentleman of independant fortune had
been

been arrested and that they had bailed him and their assertion is deemed *good and sufficient evidence*. Three other United Irishmen, the one a Printer, victimated in the cause of the people, the other a member of a learned profession, the third a citizen of probity and known patriotism, give in their evidence before the same society of United Irishmen that the victimated Printer had been arrested and that they had bailed him and their assertion is discredited and rejected!—Were the assertions of either party more true than that of the other?—No!—Both are undeniably true!—What was the cause of the arrests in question? in both cases the cause was the same, the address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers of Ireland. Why then was the evidence in one case set aside and in the other received? The fact is plain; in the Society of Irishmen every fair and impartial principle falls prostrate before the unfortunate domination of NAMES, the curse of *Leadership* and the little aristocracy of a *selfish party*.

In the resolution above mentioned, the name of James Napper Tandy appears with an assertion—“*that prosecution was commenced against him*. Mr. Tandy had not then been arrested: he was at that time in the country: on what then was it averred and published by the Society of United Irishmen, that prosecution was commenced against James Napper Tandy? Simply on an ASSERTION. Messrs. Rowan, Butler, and Burk, asserted, that they had seen the name of James Napper Tandy, Esq. included, with a similar charge against him, in the *original* warrant, in the hands of Mr. Carleton, on which Mr. Rowan had been arrested. Here was no objection made by the Lawyers of the Society to *assertion as evidence*, although certainly inadmissible, if judged with that *fine drawn casuistry* displayed by the Lawyers on the memorable night of the question of execution. Mr. Tandy not being then arrested, when the resolution passed, the assertion that *prosecution was commenced against him*, was certainly not justly founded. At least I am sure no conscientious man in his senses would venture to *swear it as a fact*, no more than he would swear that the siege of Paris was commenced, when the Duke of Brunswick had only collected materials for forming the siege, and had just *begun* his march,

march to lay it in ashes. It would be as ridiculous to aver, that the attack on St. Maloes was commenced on the day that Lord Moira kissed his Majesty's hand, when appointed to the command, and when the troops were only collected to embark at Portsmouth for that expedition. All these circumstances only proving that the Duke intended to lay siege to Paris, and the Earl intends to attack St. Maloes. In like manner, some *overt act, cognizable by council*, and calling for *legal defence*, is necessary to constitute the *commencement of prosecution*, such as, the serving on the person against whom charge is made, an official notice or writ of summons, to appear at law at an appointed term,—or, the arresting his person. Until either of these had happened, although warrant was *asserted* to be issued, it could only be justly said that prosecution *was intended* against James Napper Tandy.* Judge Blackstone does not admit prosecution to be commenced even *when arrest and bail have taken place*. In the fourth vol. of his commentaries chap. 21. of arrests, he states the regular *stages* of proceeding in this case thus—1 *Arrest*—2 *Commitment and Bail*—3 *Prosecution &c.*—chap. 22. treats of Commitment and Bail—and chap 23. of Prosecution—begins thus, supposing *arrest and bail to have taken place*—"The next step towards the punishment of offenders is *their prosecution*." The whole of this clear plea might have been argued with justice by the lawyers of the Society had it suited their purpose, to start a wilful doubt

* The very form observed on the mode of proceeding by a judge's warrant shews that in the eye of *law* as well as that of reason prosecution does *not* commence on *issuing* the warrant but on *putting the warrant into execution*. On lodging information, the informer is bound over to *prosecute*, if prosecution was considered in *existence* or commenced with his deposition, he would be bound over to *continue* or *persist* in the *prosecution*. It must be evident that the *charge sworn* is only the grounds on which the *intended prosecution* is to be founded and the *warrant* is the means by which the accused person is to be made answerable at law to *meet prosecution*, which clearly does *not* commence until the arrest or surrender of his person, as, be the warrant out ever so long against him, he is not answerable at law, nor bound to stand his trial until *either of these circumstances have happened*. It would be both absurd and untrue to aver that Mr. Mendoza on signing a bond to forfeit one hundred pounds or to fight Mr. Humphries in three months after, by entering into that bond, commenced the battle: the bond being in this case only the means of tying the Pugilistic hero to the future performance of his contract. All this is evident to plain reason but in what case will my ingenious opponents be at a loss for a *quibble* to put common sense out of countenance?

in the case of James Napper Tandy, or had they chosen to establish a fixed principle of grounding the resolutions of the Society upon evidence of positive facts. But as it served their purpose better to bring forward Mr. James Napper Tandy's name with that of Mr. Rowan, they grounded their declaration "*that prosecution was commenced against Mr. Tandy, before the fact existed, on an assertion that the prosecution was intended against him.*"—

The only reason why the Society of United Irishmen took cognizance of the arrest of Mr. Rowan was a *surmise* that the printed handbills which he stood charged with having distributed, were copies of the address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers. The resolution therefore in question, it must be remembered was moved on a *surmise* and passed on an *assertion*. This proceeding I do not mention with a view of condemning it. On the contrary I esteem it highly honourable, and a just policy in an association to exhibit a zealous forwardness in the protection of such of its members as may be involved in prosecution by printing or distributing its publications. My motive for dwelling on this, to hold the mirror up to the *abused men from behind their counters*, in which they will discover a direct contrast to this honest promptitude, exhibited in the proceedings of the lawyers, in the case of other members of the Society, *men of business*, standing in as hazardous a predicament as the two gentlemen, whose names are made the subject of the resolution alluded to. A consideration of the following circumstances will prove the truth of this remark. The address of the society of United Irishmen was inserted by order of the Secretary Mr. ——— on Tuesday the 18th * of Dec.

* It has been asserted, by men struggling to cover the infamy of the proceedings against me in the United Irishmen, that the warrant on which I was arrested, was issued against me for matters of *my own writing and publishing*. To this I shall simply answer, by the fact. I was present when the address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers was decreed and ordered for publication. The Secretary Mr. ——— gave me the order for inserting it in the Star. I sent in, as is customary with other Printers, some time in March, my bill for advertising it and some other papers of the Society, to the then Secretary Mr. ——— in B——-street who gave an order for payment on Mr. ——— of F——-street the then Treasurer, this latter stated that he had only just come into office and had not leisure to receive the accounts of Mr. ——— in A——-street, the former Treasurer, to whom he referred my messenger, and by whom he was paid

Dec. and repeated in it on the 20th and 22d. of the same month. It was inserted on the 17th, and also (if I am not mistaken) on the 19th and 21st, in the *Hibernian Journal* of which Mr. T. M'Donnel is proprietor. It may not be generally known that the proprietor of a newspaper runs infinitely more danger in printing and publishing for an association than any of its members in distributing. Any member of the Society of United Irishmen might with a little prudence, covertly distribute the Address to the Volunteers. It is not so with the proprietor of a newspaper who furnishes evidence against

the amount of my bill being £11 1s. 1d.—My reasons for omitting the names of the parties concerned as above must be obvious. It arises from a fact which happened after the appearance of my *two addresses to the people*. I have been for some months used to read the English newspapers, in the shop of a respectable citizen, many persons of consequence and fortune resorting there for the same purpose. In October last, when the celebrated letters of WM. TELL had noised in every quarter, the base treatment which I had received from the selfish party which sways the United Irishmen, the public prints also announced my intention of *appealing to the people*. It was then deemed by many, who did not know me personally, that a sense of unmerited ill-usage would naturally operate upon me to consult my own safety, by giving up the person or persons who had ordered that publication into my paper. A gentleman of fortune, the immediate relative of a noble house, and intimately acquainted with some leading men, high in official situation under government, remarked to me, that the treacherous abandonment and gross calumny which I had experienced from the very men who had led me into danger, warranted upon the fairest principles, my consulting my own safety and that of my family, by giving up the person or persons who had written the Address to the Volunteers, or who had ordered it into my paper, or paid for the insertion of it, by doing which he said he had *positive reason* for asserting that I should wholly exculpate myself from the predicament in which I stand. To this which was several times repeated to me by the same gentleman and by others, I uniformly made answer nearly in these words—"that I was fully sensible of the very base treatment which I had received, and perhaps felt myself justified on the principles of *self-defence*, in adopting such a part, to men who had been guilty of so gross a *treachery* by me, although it was utterly contrary to my feelings and modes of thinking, to owe my own safety to the inculpation of any other person or persons however *unmanly* or *criminal* his or their conduct had been to me: Nor did I think the *reputed* author's choosing to act as a *scoundrel* by me, was any reason why I should sink myself to the level of a *scoundrel* to retaliate a *treachery* upon him, merely to gratify a *resentment*. The inculpating another could only be reconcilable to a delicate mind, where in addition to *dishonourable* treatment received, no possible alternative of *self-preservation* was left. All I was solicitous for, was that justice which I had sought from the Society, the *exoneration* of two persons who had bailed me when arrested, for an act of the Society. If Government would grant that exoneration to me, I would engage to carry myself and my principles for ever out of the country."

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himself *before the fact*. No person is allowed to commence a Newspaper until he has first sworn himself in at the Stamp Office as sole proprietor. He is bound also by the stamp act to lodge with a person appointed one paper of each publication in the Stamp Office: on failure of doing so, he is liable to the penalty of one hundred pounds. This paper so lodged at the Stamp Office is by the stamp act deemed to constitute sufficient evidence against the proprietor, in case of prosecution for personal or seditious libel, inserted in it. It must be obvious from a consideration of these circumstances, that if the Address to the Volunteers was *surmised* without any evidence whatever of Mr. Rowan having distributed it, to be the occasion of the prosecution commenced against him, and also of that intended against Mr. Tandy, much stronger grounds existed for a surmise that a prosecution was intended against the printers of the newspapers who had inserted it, and who if the paper in question was liable to dangerous consequences had no hope to escape, having furnished evidence against themselves *before the fact*, by their oath at the Stamp Office; beside their being notoriously in the power of any or every person who had purchased a newspaper of the publication in question. In the case of Messrs. Rowan and Tandy, two points were to be ascertained, the fact of the publication being a *seditious libel*, and the fact of these gentlemen having distributed it, both of which must be proved before even a *packed jury* could find them guilty. Though the first point should be ever so fully proved, unless the *second* should be clearly substantiated, the *gentlemen* must be acquitted; whereas if the *first point* should be proved in the case of the *printers*, Messrs. M'Donnel and Carey must be found guilty, and subject to whatever sentence the Judge might think proper to inflict.

These indubitable proofs shew that the LEADERS of the Society of United Irishmen in more cases than one, are not inclined to consider the *post of danger* to be the *post of honour*: it being certain that the *printers* who run a *double danger* were not deemed worthy of the *equal honour* of having their names made a popular theme in the same publication with those of Messrs. Rowan and Tandy. Although it must be evident to every unprejudiced person, the grounds were much stronger for surmising, that prosecution was intended against them for printing the Address to the Volunteers, which was

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an incontrovertible fact, than for surmising, that the printed hand-bill called a seditious libel, with distributing which, Messrs. Rowan and Tandy stood charged, was the address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers, or for asserting, that prosecution was commenced against Mr. Tandy, *before the fact existed*. It is also to be remarked, that Mr. Carleton made no secret of *similar warrants being* out against the Printers in the case in question.

On what this evident and unjustifiable partiality is grounded, we are left to guess. Whether it was deemed that suffering in the public cause was meritorious *only* in men of a certain *privileged order*, such as LAW, PHYSICK, and their adherents of a *particular rank*; or, that it was deemed the *vulgar names* of *men from behind their counters*, might reflect *dishonour* on *prosecution*, and that they ought therefore to be kept in the *back ground*; or that prosecution could reflect *no honour* on *such men*; or that the stock of *honour* to be gained by the prosecutions in question, was only just sufficient to *grace* the *two names* in the resolution; or that these *two names only* could reflect *honour* upon the public cause; it has not yet been avowed by the parties: the fact simply as it occurred is here related: the public will not fail to exercise their candid judgement, in discovering the reason why the poor Printers were forgotten on so remarkable an occasion.

It may be said in excuse, that the omission was perhaps accidental, or that it implied or availed nothing. Its repetition, together with other circumstances, prove it to have been designed; and if it implied nothing, it will be seen that it produced something *fatally injurious* to the Society, nothing less than the load of irretrievable disgrace which it has incurred, by grossly ill-treating and betraying me. A strong contrast to the *party injustice* which I have experienced, will appear in the conduct of the LEADERS of the Society to their *select men*. It was publicly notorious, that I had been arrested on the threshold of the place of the Society's Meeting; and after my case had been referred to a Committee, which had reported that I ought to be supported, and after a year of proscription—evidence was given by the two members who had bailed me, that I had been arrested for the Address to the Volunteers; yet the Society of United Irish-

men, with an acknowledged conviction of the truth of that arrest, permitted the Hon. Simon Butler, their President, to oppose their general opinion, by an *extraordinary declaration of his forgetfulness of the whole transaction*! I declare it is with the deepest regret I find myself necessitated to speak of this transaction. I have been so accustomed to freely deliver my opinion, that I must either be wholly silent on it, or openly state it to be what I think it, a sorry evasion, mean and unjustifiable in any man, but doubly so, in one who had himself, received so liberal a support from that Society, and from another public Body. Every person whom I have heard speak upon the subject, is of opinion, that the permitting a few individuals to domineer over the Society, and openly to force every transaction of it to the aggrandizement of a little Party, at the expence of the Body, is utterly unworthy of the name of *Public Spirit*, and exactly the reverse of that honest, open, manly system, which should regulate the honourable proceedings of men *in earnest* for the general good.

I have said that the evil effects of this mode of *feudal Association* are now severely felt by the Society of United Irishmen. Had the *humble names* of the *Printers* been inserted, even at a *respectful distance* if it were deemed necessary, from those of Messrs. Rowan and Tandy, however, some persons might have been displeased at beholding these gentlemen in the *vulgar company of men from behind their counters*; yet the Hon. Simon Butler, would not have had an *opportunity*, twelve months after, of forgetting my being arrested for the address then stiled a seditious libel; which extraordinary *forgetfulness* was the only reason he could assign for refusing to put the question on the motion, made and duly seconded in form, and by the *general wish*, to exonerate my bail: that the ill consequence I speak of, did result from it is evident, by the following resolutions, *grounded on that already inserted*, and passed at the adjourned meeting of the Society, the ensuing Sunday, and published in the different Newspapers in Dublin.

December

December 23d, 1792.

UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

*William Drennan, Chairman, Archibald Hamilton Rowan,
Secretary.*

RESOLVED. That it appears to this Society, *from the evidence laid before it*, that the printed hand bills, which Archibald Hamilton Rowan, and James Napper Tandy are charged in the *information* sworn against them, with having distributed, are copies of the address of this society to the Volunteers of Ireland, falsely called in the said information, "a seditious libel."

2. Resolved. That it is the duty of every member to distribute the public resolutions of the society; and if Archibald Hamilton Rowan and James Napper Tandy, really distributed, that Address, they, in so doing, acted agreeably to the sentiments, and therefore merit the approbation of this Society.

3. Resolved. That if Archibald Hamilton Rowan, and James Napper Tandy, are prosecuted on account of the discharge of their duty to the Society, they must be supported, and the prosecution be legally and constitutionally resisted by the Society in every stage.

4. Resolved. That this Society, in supporting its Rights, will not confine itself merely to defensive measures; but as the sale of the peerage, and of seats in the representative house of Parliament, and other corruptions, are openly and notoriously practiced by a shameless and corrupt Administration: this Society will, *without delay*, prepare materials for prosecution, against such members of the Administration, as have been guilty of such enormities.

Resolved. That although we despise the paltry Trick by which those interested in the present unconstitutional Representation of the People, endeavour to fix, as a Stigma, the Character of Republican and Leveller on every active Promoter of Reform—yet, as we see, with Concern, that some well-intentioned and sincere Friends of that Measure, have been affected with a Fear artfully and groundlessly excited for corrupt purposes, we think it our duty to declare, on our own behalf, that the object of our Institution

tion is an impartial and adequate Representation of the Irish Nation in Parliament;—and, in order to prove, that our views are, and always have been, directed to that end, we hereunto subjoin the Test, which was adopted on the Establishment of this Society, and which has been uniformly taken by every member on his admission :

I A. B. in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish Nation in Parliament—And as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this Chief Good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions ; without which every reform in Parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country.

By the names of Mr. Rowan and Mr. Tandy only appearing in the three preceding resolutions of the above, it is plain that the omission of the printers names in the resolution of the 21st. was not accidental. It is also clear, that had they been inserted in it, as in justice they ought, they must have been with equal justice, impartially included in the above resolutions. In which case, the hon. Simon Butler, must have put the question as moved and seconded to exonerate my bail (twelve months afterwards ;) and as the sense of the whole assembly, except that gentleman, and Counsellor M'Nally (the only lawyers present) was decidedly in favour of the exoneration, the two worthy men who had bailed me, would have been secured, and the Society would have escaped that deplorable act of insanity, by which, in being made the instrument of striking at me, it has committed an irretrievable suicide on its own character.

I am aware that the persons who occasioned the omission of the printers names on the former night, will endeavour to assert that the omission was owing to the want of positive proof that prosecutions were intended against them. This reason might seem sufficient, but for the corroborating evidence against it, of the second omission in the above three resolutions.

resolutions. This *second omission* cannot be said to have been occasioned by a want of proof, since Mr. M'Donnell, * the printer of the Hibernian Journal, and Mr. M'Alister, book-seller, had been arrested by Mr. Carlton, and bailed each by different members of the Society, on Saturday the 22d. of December, the day preceding that, on which the above resolutions passed; and it is confirmed that this *second omission* must have been *intentional*, and a *part of a system* to withhold the *vulgar names of men from behind their Counters* from public notice, since it is a fact, that the printers names were never afterwards honoured by the publication of the Society's vote of support, under the prosecutions in question. The whole of these receive additional force from a circumstance, which must be in the recollection of a crowded meeting; that Mr. Tandy came in *late* to the Society, on the Sunday night when the above resolutions passed—his boots appearing fresh spattered from a journey, and he declared to the Society, that he had just *then* come up to town to give bail, having rode *forty miles* that day on receipt of a letter in the country—informing him of the warrant being out against him, by which it appears he had not then given bail, altho' his name was again brought forward, while those of the printers, *actually arrested*, were *omitted*. I have detailed these circumstances to shew that not only impartiality was not thought of, but the very appearance of it wholly laid aside.

The past remarks on the above resolution, have been pointed against that *unjustifiable dominion of names*, by which the Society of United Irishmen has been made to resemble a *High-land Clan*, under a *few ambitious, arbitrary chieftains*, more than a dignified assembly of free, enlightened citizens. I now shall advert to the pernicious imprudence resulting from that *feudal spirit*, previous to which, I shall give an authentic copy of the charge in the warrant on which Mr. Rowan was arrested.

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| Ireland to Wit. } | By the Hon. William Downes, one of the Justices of his Majesties † Court of King's Bench, Ireland. |
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* I am not quite certain whether Mr. M'Donnell was arrested or surrendered himself, whether or not, does not alter the *fact* of his being held to bail to meet prosecution.

†. Literally copied.

Whereas,

Whereas I have received *information upon oath*, that on Sunday the sixteenth day of December instant, a number of men armed with Bayonets and Swords to the amount of near one hundred persons, were assembled at a house in Cope-street in the city of Dublin, and that Archibald Hamilton Rowan and James Napper Tandy both of the said city, Esquires, were among the said persons so assembled, and then and there distributed several *printed hand-bills*, containing a *seditious libel*, to several of the said persons so assembled.

These are therefore in his *Majesties* name, to charge and command you, and every of you, immediately on sight or receipt hereof, to take the bodies of the said Archibald Hamilton Rowan, and James Napper Tandy into your custody, and them so taken, to bring before me, or any other of his *Majesties* Justices of the Court of king's bench in Ireland, to be dealt with according to Law: for which this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Given under my hand and Seal this twentieth day of December, 1792.

WILLIAM DOWNES.

To all Mayors &c. *

† In the above we see *no mention whatever, of the Address of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin to the Volunteers of Ireland*, and the very wording of the first resolution affects to imply that the address to the Volunteers was *not* specified in the information, which it speaks of: Upon what then did the Society ground this resolution? "Resolved that it appears to this Society, *from the evidence laid before it, that the printed hand-bills which Archibald Hamilton Rowan &c. &c. ————— are copies of the address of this Society to the Volunteers of Ireland, &c.*" Does not the plainest capacity at once read in this resolution a conclusion forced for some unknown purpose; from which conclusion the most dangerous inference against Mr Rowan arises? Does it not evidently and wantonly tend to a substantiation of evidence, implying that Mr. Rowan, *aid* dis-

* This form unnecessary here.

† It is asserted by some, who defend the ambiguity of the first Resolution, that the warrant was the evidence laid before the Committee of Constitution.

tribute

tribute the address to the Volunteers. The sense of it in plain English runs thus " the Society of &c. having evidence that Mr Rowan did distribute, at a certain place and time, the address to the Volunteers, and finding that Mr. Rowan is charged with distributing a printed hand-bill, containing a seditious libel at said certain time and place; it appears to this Society that said hand-bill is the address of this Society to the Volunteers. " *

If there be any danger in having distributed the Paper in question, the first resolution must be confessed to be a needless and rash committal of Mr. Rowan, upon the *single* point " whether or not, it contained a seditious libel ? " I remember making this remark to a Lawyer of the Society, on the night the resolution passed; he replied, that the Society's averring and publishing that Mr. Rowan or any individual had distributed, or was the author of the address to the Volunteers, could not injure him or them, since it was not upon *verbal, written, or printed affirmation*, but upon *† oath duly sworn*, that evidence must be founded in a trial of that kind: whether this be exactly true or not, I will not determine; but it is certain, that *this very barrister* has since expressed the *utmost alarm*, at seeing in the MORNING STAR, the address in question, attributed to *one DOCTOR ENERGY, by one WILLIAM TELL!* this alarm was *affected* only to imply, that *one Doctor Energy*, stood in danger from *one William Tell*; and after to surmise that *William Tell* was William P. Carey, for the *obvious base* purpose, of carrying a point against me.

If there exist an opinion of any danger, to the *real or reputed* author, from an *unknown writer*, under a *fictional* signature; distributing the address to the Volunteers, to an *unknown Doctor* under a *whimsical* appellation, that opinion of

* I attended, as the *companion in arms*, of Mr. Rowan, and as his *fellow soldier*, in the *Dublin Independent Volunteers*, at the meeting in Cope-street, on the 16th of December, 1792. The corps which attended, were specified in the resolutions agreed to on that day, and published in the different Dublin newspapers afterwards. They were the *Liberty Artillery and Donore Union*, and the *Dublin Independent Volunteers*. I, for one, could give testimony, that during the meeting of that day, I did not see any printed hand-bills, distributed by Messrs. Rowan and Tandy, and I have heard other volunteers declare the same.

† In support of this, the *printed names* of Dr. Drennan as Chairman, and Mr. Rowan as secretary, which are prefixed to the address to the Volunteers, are *not* legal proofs, that either of these persons did officiate as such when it passed the Society.

danger must be founded on a conviction that there is *sedition*, and therefore dangerous matter in the address: if so, it must be obvious, that there is a still greater danger to Mr. Rowan, from the *Lawyer's* averring by a wanton and forced construction, that he *had distributed*, the address to the Volunteers. For my own part, I declare I am not discerning enough to see what legal danger can arise to the *real* author, from the honest severity of one William Tell. It must be a very uncommon law *subpœna* which could compell one William Tell, who has no real existence, to appear in court against one Doctor Energy, who is also, if I am not deceived a mere "*Vox et preterea nihil!*" It is not so in the case of the above resolution of the 23d December, to which the names of Doctor Drennan, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan are prefixed. What would have been the consequence, had Parliament thought proper to discover any disrespect of itself in the fourth Resolution, where these expressions occur?—"But as *the sale of the Peerage and of seats in the Representative House of Parliament*, and other corruptions are openly and notoriously practised &c. &c." The Houses of Lords and Commons might both have summoned Mr. Rowan and Doctor Drennan before them,* where if these Gentlemen copied the conduct of Messrs. Butler and Bond, Mr. Rowan must avow that he did give his sanction to the resolutions, from a conviction that they were founded in truth; and thus by the forced construction in the first resolution, would be dragged in to give evidence against himself, by admitting that to be true, which directly implies his *having distributed the address to the Volunteers*.

It being positively asserted by some friends of the lawyers of the committee of constitution, that on the night of

* Their not doing so, was more owing to good luck, than good judgment in the writer of the Resolutions. In drawing a conclusion, in this instance, from a matter which did not happen, I for once, fight my enemies with their own weapons. The lawyers with important shakes of the wig, shrugs of the shoulder, and audible whispers, have attempted to insinuate their horrible alarms of the danger in which one Dr. Energy stands from the wicked, seditious, false and malicious letters of Wm. Tell whom they do me the honour to speak of as William Paulet Carey. This chicanery is worthy of its precious inventors, who thus for a truly virtuous purpose, sought to extort a conclusion from a circumstance which did not happen, and for which, there exists no ground of probability whatever, but in the valuable coinage of their own brains.

the 23d of December, the committee had *not* * procured a copy of the information, against Messrs. Rowan and Tandy; and that the evidence on which they grounded their respect, was solely drawn from *the notice of the information, contained in the warrant*. I have pointed out the weakness and folly of the resolutions passed on the occasion: but I have some reasons to believe, that these persons do not speak from their knowledge of *the fact*; † but from the *mysterious ambiguity* of the *first* resolution, which affects to speak of the occasion of Mr. Rowan's arrest as a matter of *surmise and uncertainty*; and yet, at the same time, takes upon it, by a forced construction, to say, "that the printed hand bills, containing, a seditious libel," as mentioned in the warrant, are copies of the address to the volunteers.

The plain question is—was not, or was, the evidence laid before the committee, a copy of the information, sworn against Messrs. Rowan and Tandy? If it was not, the committee stands condemned, for the wanton and dangerous substantiation of evidence contained in the first resolution. If it was—for what purpose was *mysterious uncertainty* affected in the *first* resolution?—If, on or before the 23d December, 1792, the Committee had obtained a copy of the information against Messrs. Rowan and Tandy, it, as well as that against W. P. Carey, expresses at large, the contents of the printed hand-bill, called a seditious libel: It sets forth with the title—**"SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN TO THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND: William Drennan, Chairman. Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Sec.—Citizen Soldiers! You first took up arms, &c. &c."**—until the whole publication is recited *word for word* literally. Here we see no room to doubt—no occasion to affect a *surmise* of a matter which was
certain,

* If the Committee of Constitution procured a copy of the information in Mr. Rowan's case, pray how came it, that the *Committee of three*, of which Mr. Rowan was one, could not find a copy of the information in the *Printer Carey's* case? The informations were alike for the address to the Volunteers, and *both* lodged in one person's hands.

† Whether this be true or not, the folly of the resolution must be apparent. I have heard it asserted, that the Committee in the case of Messrs. Rowan and Tandy, on or before the 23d of December, 1793, had a copy of the information sworn against these gentlemen. I have also heard it
asserted

certain. The charge against Messrs. Rowan and Tandy is clear ; and the first resolution, had it been dictated by impartial common sense would have spoken as clearly—somewhat to this purpose.

Resolved. That Archibald Hamilton Rowan, and James Napper Tandy, stand charged by information, sworn against them, with having distributed printed copies of the address of this Society to the Volunteers, falsely termed in said information “ a seditious libel.”

But

asserted they had not, on or before that date. I have considered it in the two points : either of which tend to shew the inconsistency, partiality and dangerous rashness of the Lawyers who framed the resolutions. I am decidedly of opinion, that the Committee did *not*, on or before the 23d of December, possess a copy of, or obtain access to the information sworn against Messrs. Rowan and Tandy. This opinion I ground on an enquiry which I made of the Crown Solicitor, in whose hands the informations sworn against them were lodged, and also on the following circumstance :—That in the case of information sworn against any person, the accused is *not* entitled to a copy of the information sworn against him, until *after* the bills have been found against him by the Grand Jury. Now it is a *fact* that the examinations and indictments were never preferred to a Grand Jury against Messrs. Rowan and Tandy, nor against any of the Printers—nor were they sent to the Clerk of the Crown so late as the middle of December, 1793, a year after—of course the Committee were *not* entitled to a copy or to a sight of them—and as the examinations against Messrs. Rowan and Tandy, and those against the Printers were all lodged in *one* person's hands, the Crown Solicitor, how can it be asserted, that the Committee in Messrs. Rowan and Tandy's case, got a copy or a sight of the examination against these gentlemen, on or before the 23d of December, 1792, only three days after they were sworn, and that the Committee of *Three*, nearly a twelvemonth after, could not in the course of a whole week, devise any means of obtaining a copy or a sight of the examinations against W. P. Carey, though I must repeat it, *both examinations were lodged in the same person's hands.* Beside it is to be remembered that *Mr. Rowan was present to give evidence of his arrest to the Committee appointed in his case, and that of Mr. Tandy—and Counsellor M^r. Nally was one of the members of that Committee, before whom he gave evidence, of his arrest.*—To conclude this extraordinary mystery—*both Mr. Rowan and Counsellor M^r. Nally were afterwards members of the Committee of Three, which I again repeat, could not in the course of a whole week obtain a copy or sight of the examinations against the Printer Carey !* We cannot suppose the Committee had access to the examinations against Messrs. Rowan and Tandy, without the knowledge of Mr. Rowan who was concerned, and was present during the Committee's discussion, and of Counsellor M^r. Nally, who was a member of that Committee. In which case both these persons as members of the Committee of three appointed for my business must be involved in a charge of the most heinous nature, that of framing and joining in a report calculated to defeat the motion for exonerating my bail, by wilfully effecting an incapacity of obtaining access to the examinations against me. On the other hand, if the Committee in the case of Messrs. Rowan and Tandy had

But the men who had rashly committed the Society, felt ashamed to acknowledge their want of capacity or want of prudence. Had the resolution *openly avowed the charge* against Messrs. Rowan and Tandy, the *men from behind their counters* would have discovered the dangerous ground upon which they stood: they would have obtained a knowledge how little reliance could be placed upon the opinion of Lawyers who had brought in the Address in question, sanctioned with their declaration that it was strictly legal. Plain sense would have warned plain unassuming *men of business* of the danger of such a publication, then had they not been deceived into a contrary sentiment. Common Sense would have informed me, had I not relied on the lawyers of the Society, that there is a wide difference between a proceeding sanctioned by the law, and that which is only winked at by the law.

The law twelve months ago, unfortunately confined the use of arms to a very small portion of the people.—But there did not exist any law to sanction the assembling of this favoured class in *armed bodies*, although it can never be forgotten, that the generous ardour of her armed citizens prevented the intended invasion of Ireland, and

had not access to the examinations against these gentlemen—upon what authority did they venture to *substantiate evidence against these gentlemen*, by asserting, that it appeared to them that the *Printed Hand-bills*, falsely called a *seditious libel*, with distributing which they stood charged in the warrant, *were copies of the address of the Society to the Volunteers*

It is plain they could not venture so extraordinary an assertion, unless they wished to betray to the Public, that they had evidence of Messrs. Rowan and Tandy's *having distributed the Address to the Volunteers, at the time and place*, when and where they were charged with distributing a *Printed Hand-bill*, falsely said to contain a *seditious libel*. If they really had such evidence, *they were bound to conceal it as dangerous*. This must be obvious to every man of the plainest capacity, for, if *divulging the distribution of it be not dangerous to the distributor*—it follows that *divulging the writing of it, cannot be dangerous to the writer*. Of course the *real writer* can stand in no danger from one *William Tell* in a Public Newspaper, asserting that one *Dr. Energy* is the author of it.—On the other hand, if, as the Lawyers assert, it be *dangerous to divulge the distributors or writer of the Address*, that danger must arise from *seditious matter* in it, of which, *the Lawyers thus acknowledge, they have a conviction*. As to the *real author*, there is not a member of the Society who was present when the address was brought in, can have a doubt of him, from the notorious circumstance of his supporting the wording of a particular part of it in this manner—"I do not support the matter objected to, *because it is a matter of my own writing—but because I think it right, &c. &c.*

freed

freed her from the tyranny of British Statutes. A more forcible illustration occurs in the case of the Catholics :— Until lately, a law existed to prevent them, under severe penalties, from possessing arms for self-defence ; while that law slept, *it being known that Government did not intend to put it in force*, the Catholics not only openly kept arms in their houses, but appeared in *armed bodies*, under the sacred character of Irish Volunteers, to defend themselves and their common country from a foreign enemy.—Far from being imprudent, this conduct was wise and patriotic ; it merited the applause and received the thanks of their Protestant Countrymen.—Government approved of the measure as a strong one, rendered necessary by its own unpardonable neglect and imbecility. But had Government viewed the Volunteer force in the proud day of its glory, as an object of Jealousy, it would have been madness in the Catholics to attempt the field. Their doing so, far from being a service to the Public, would have been productive of ruin to themselves. Here is an instance of a laudable proceeding in the teeth of an existing law, but that law being made for the *convenience of Government*, the *will of Government* supported the Catholics in their infringement of it.

Now, at the period when the Address to the Volunteers was issued by the Society of *United Irishmen*, it was decidedly known that Government had long harboured a jealousy of the Corps of Volunteers then existing. It was even pretty well ascertained that a *plausible pretext* was only sought to suppress that glorious institution.

The second resolution reminds us of the Lion and the weaker animals entering into partnership, to share the perils of hunting—the former claiming the right to divide the prey, found means to appropriate the *whole* to himself. It holds out a plan of a number joining stock, for one or two *only* to share the profits. It establishes as the duty of every member *equally to run the danger of distribution*, while the most *shameful partiality* was manifested in attending to the members over whom prosecution pended. It is also visible in it, that the writer felt the *improper substantiation of evidence* contained in the *first* resolution, by his attempting to do it away in the following passage—“ if A. H. Rowan and J. N. Tandy really distributed that address.”

The

The *fourth* resolution relative to the prosecutions against Administration on account of the sale of the Peerage and of seats in the Representative House of Parliament, will naturally give rise to a question, was it seriously intended to be put into execution, or only passed like the resolution to support me for the article from the *Northern Star*, merely to catch popularity? Certain it is, this attempt to man a reed against the firmament of power, might enable some Lawyers to look important for a few days after in the Courts, yet all the threatened preparations for prosecution, *without delay*, were never more heard of in the Society! They sunk like the resolution in favour of *Irish Manufactures*, and that of publishing a plan of *Reform*,* having served the intended purpose of making a bustle for a moment without advancing a step to the end proposed!—When will these *Resolution Mongers*, these *School-boys* of the law, grow ashamed of such *puerile* conduct? When will they learn that it is necessary to carry *into action* some part of the just principles they *avow*, in order to obtain *faith* for their *professions*?—Surely, the well-meaning men, from behind their counters, who have been blindly impelled by the *curse of leadership*, ought to see that the *paper credit* of the Society, though issued under the *firm* of the old established *Traders*, LAW, PHYSIC, and CO. has long been depreciated, and is now no where current beyond the limits of the Taylor's Hall. Resolutions and Addresses multiply, and official bulletins of triumphs in *nubibus*, flie about; mean while the Society falls in the public opinion, and in proportion as it loses character out of doors, it closes its ears to the hearing of its errors, and becomes sorely tenacious of an imaginary dignity within its assembly. PHYSIC wondering at its growing importance, wisely learns to appreciate its own consequence, by fixing its eyes on *things above*; by distinguishing the *select few* to whom it shall *appropriate its converse*, and by assuming a *sadder solemnity of visage*, and a *hollower tone of distance* to the enquiries of the *unlearned vulgar* with whom it is *constrained to unite*. LAW, itself propped by the *permanent Candle-Snuffer* on one side, and by an *independent Country Gentleman* on the other, shoots by a rapid transition from a *starveling pigmy* to a *stupendous colossus*, and exhibits to the astonishment of the *Four Courts*, in the form of *political Atlas*, bearing the *mighty world of Back-lane* upon its shoulders!

* A plan of Reform has appeared since this was written.

The meetings crumble away, but the fewer assembled, the more united the Society; the less opposition to the will of the ruling power. Woe upon the head of the *luckless individual*, from behind his counter, who attempts to speak, after the authoritative call of some great and learned member—"to order!" Woe upon him whose free spirit revolts at the *impotent omnipotence* of the Lilliputian Sovereignty, or whose eye flashes indignant derision at the *lofty littleness* of the insolent pageant!—Is he a friend to a persecuted Printer? *Vociferate* him in silence!* Has he bailed a member under arrest? Cross his name from the books of the Society.†—Has he been himself arrested?—Let the very writer whose pen is *reputed* to have brought him into danger, rise and move his expulsion!‡ Thus do they seek to lift a few into consequence, by the depression of the many. Thus are the sacred names of public spirit, and patriotism profaned by the sordid selfishness of *party*—Those sacred names, whose very mention brings fresh supplies of courage and virtue to the honest heart, are thus robbed of their noblest qualities of estimation, and made the prey of scoffers. Thus the great ends of association are forgotten, and the splendor of her talents like the beauty of a prostitute, far from commanding our esteem, only reminds us of the noble purpose of her creation, by awakening a *sigh of regret* for the deplorable abandonment by which she is abused.

If any United Irishman sadden over this just resemblance, let him seriously ask of his heart, the *cause* of that Society's having dwindled into her present condition?—Upon the credit of her first professions, she obtained a share of popularity and drew numerous and respectable meetings: by neglecting to act conformable to her professions, she has excited general disgust, and produced

* On the 18th of October, the night of the report of the Committee of Three Mr. Mathews, one of my bail, was silenced by the President, the younger Sheares, and forced to quit the room in disgust—the like happened to this honest citizen, on the night my expulsion was first moved.

† On the 25th of October, the ensuing meeting, Doctor Drennan moved that the name of Surgeon Wright (also one of my bail) should be crossed from the books of the Society.

‡ On the 1st of November, Doctor Drennan, the reputed Author of the Address to the Volunteers, for publishing which, I had been arrested, and which had been so injurious to me, rose and moved my expulsion. Some energetic circumstances, which rendered this conduct of the Doctor, most strikingly characteristic of his mind, will be seen hereafter.

her own fall. How melancholy the picture which she now presents to every unbiassed mind. Her weak and emaciated figure, in the last stage of a consumption, sinks upon the *paper limbs* which have hitherto supported her. Her glazed eyes are immoveably fixed upon the inscription, "Honourable," which like "the *prophetic hand writing upon the wall*," glimmers upon the fallen fragment of a noble column. In the *hysterical paroxysms* of the burning fit, she *laughs at crowns and sceptres*, and shakes the avenging *bullrush* of her authority over the devoted *infidel* who questions her infallibility, while her voice, portending speedy dissolution, and hollow as if from the vault of death, denounces ruin and infamy upon any who shall dare to *step between her and the grave of unhonoured extinction*, to which she hastes.—What then are we to think of the men who madly cry out against the healing hand, which, with a generous incision, strikes at the root of the malady, that if left to itself, must speedily terminate the existence of the body upon which it preys?

Of the fifth resolution we may say that *principle and practice* were never more at variance than these which it *professes*—and those which are evident in the proceedings of the Lawyers of the Society. If, as it justly observes, *designing men* by a paltry trick endeavour to affix as a stigma, the character of *Republican and Leveller* upon every active friend of reform, so the administration of the Society of United Irishmen no sooner became sensible of the public infamy attached to its unmerited ill usage of me, than it felt an alarm at my declared intention of a public appeal, and sought to skreen the *past*, by plunging still deeper in *guilt*. Too late sensible that it had laid its hand upon a man not to be shaken by the insolent injustice of its petty power, it sought to prejudice the public mind by endeavouring to affix a stigma, upon my political principles and upon those of every honest man who espoused my cause. To perpetrate this *manly* project that *cabal* could not be at a loss. Rich in the possession of a Newgate Solicitor, whose mouth and tongue may not inaptly be called the inkstand and pen of defamation,—one, whose name and *infamy* are synonymous terms with every man of honour at the bar, and who is not more prompt to heap unmerited insult where he thinks he may safely do it, than notorious for his *passive submission* to the *merited retorts* which he

has publicly received.—This piece of *abject insolence* and of *cunning incapacity* with an invention fertile in calumnies not more groundless than despicable, acted as *voluntary miner* to the *generous* and *intrepid Leaders*, who levelled their *combined powers* against the reputation of the persecuted Printer Carey. In looking *back* this indefatigable *Thersites* saw nothing to bring against me but a list of the injuries which I had received. He wisely therefore drew upon *future*, for subjects of accusation. Aware that my appeal would speak of the acts of injustice, which the cabal had committed, he *whispered* abroad the *terrible crimes* which he kindly prophesied *I was to do*. A corrupt Minister knows how to cloak his speculations under the name of "*Extraordinaries*"—to defend his *oppressive measures*, under the title of *wise restrictions*—and to dignify a system of *error and injustice*, with the splendid appellation of a *glorious constitution*. He knows how to brand with the odium of *sedition*, any man who sets himself in *opposition* to him. In like manner the members of the *Cabal* which swayed the Society of United Irishmen knew how to defend their notorious injustice.—They had the modesty to dignify their *treachery*, their *want of honesty*, and their *calumnies*, with the name of the *Public Cause*, and to *implicate themselves* with it. Thus they hoped to establish an opinion, that whoever dared to censure their proceedings were *enemies* of the *Public Cause*. These *five or six men* undertook by a *self election* to represent the *United Irishmen* to the people of Ireland; and to represent the people of Ireland in the *United Irishmen*. They cried out "*We, the people of Ireland! alias Messrs. Physic and Law, against the Printer Carey!*"—But the people gave the lie to the criers. They deemed that the difficulties in which they had previously involved me, would have bowed my spirit to the injuries which they had in store for me.—They hoped easily to achieve the murder of my good name, after being *themselves* the means of driving me from my establishment, compelling me to fly from my native city, and to secrete myself for a twelvemonth, under a feigned name, during which time their solemn engagement legally to support me was utterly neglected. What could I do to whom they had left no alternative but a *prison*, hazardng to remain as an *outlaw* at home—or flying for ever into exile.—They hardly deemed that a man assailed by their *calumnies* and pursued by their *enmity*—incapable

capable of appearing in public, while the vengeance of government hung over him, and surrounded by difficulties in all of which he was *solely* befriended by his *personal resources*, would have had courage not merely to insult himself by a reply to *slanders which refute themselves*, but to attack his oppressors in their strong-holds—to drag them forth before the public and to stamp upon their proceedings that character of infamy which they deserved.

The laboured pomp of words which we find in—“*2. Brotherhood of affection—an identity of interests—a union of power and a communion of rights*”—is a fresh instance of the hollow but sounding professions which have marked the conduct of the *Leaders*. How utterly unlike the *Aristocratic arrogance*—the *sordid separation of interests*—the *monopoly of power*—and the *violation of common right* visible in their conduct to me.

I must remark that on the evening of the 23d of December, after the resolutions were passed, including the names of Messrs. Rowan and Tandy, those of the *three men from behind their counters*, M'Donnell, M'Alister and Carey, were suggested as objects of consideration for a committee of Constitution.

In the course of the discussion occasioned by this, some of the lawyers remarked, *proofs did not exist of prosecution commenced against W. P. Carey, Printer of the National Star, as he had not been arrested*, and therefore his name ought not to be included with those of the other two printers, for the consideration of the committee. Here we see the same men acting by one member of the Society, whom they had led into a predicament, in a manner *exactly the reverse* of their conduct to another. The resolutions hitherto alluded to, were passed *previous to Mr. Tandy having entered bail*; yet no objection was made to referring *his* name to a committee, or to voting *him* the support of the Society. Not a shadow of doubt could be entertained of prosecution being intended against me; because it was known that Mr. Oliver Carleton, who had arrested Mr. Rowan and M'Alister, had declared *that he had* a warrant against me; and had shewed the warrant to the person in my office, requesting to know when I would be pleased to attend him to enter bail. It was also known that, Mr. Mathews, who afterwards bailed me, and Mr. M'Mahon, the two members of the Society, who had bailed Mr. M'Alister, when arrested, had seen at Lord Clonmell's, the name of William Paulet Carey inserted

in the bail bond, which was made to serve for Mr. M'Alister, by erasing my name, and inserting that of M'Alister; to add to this, Mr. Carleton mentioned to Mr. Mathews, in the presence of Mr. M'Mahon, and Mr. M'Alister, that he had a similar warrant against me. These circumstances though amounting to a conviction, were not deemed sufficient proofs, that prosecution was commenced against me; and thus my name was omitted, when those of the other two Printers, Mr. M'Donnell, and Mr. M'Alister, were referred to a Committee of Constitution. The Committee of Constitution did afterwards report that—"the same reasoning applied to the cases of Mr. M'Donnell and Mr. M'Alister, which had applied to the cases of Messrs. Rowan and Tandy; and that Mr. M'Donnell and Mr. M'Alister were entitled to *similar support* from the Society." The spirit of ostentation, as usual, operated here. The system of bringing a few favourite names into notice, and keeping others in the back ground, prevented the appearance of this resolution in the public papers, it being deemed sufficient honour *for men from behind their counters*, to have their names inserted by the Secretary in the Society's books.*

I have to remark, that on the same night, of the 23d of December, when the resolutions in favour of Messrs. Rowan and Tandy, were ordered for publication, and before question arose relative to the names of the printers, the Hon. Simon Butler enquired of me if I had been arrested, as a warrant was out against me. I told him I knew there was, from the circumstances of my name being seen in the bail bond, and from Mr. Carleton's information, and added, I had been advised not to give bail, for some time, from circumstances which I shall now relate, and which I also mentioned slightly to Councillor Rice, on that night, but not having leisure to enter into particu-

* Contrast the aristocratic system of distinction in the whole of these proceedings, with the Declarations of the Society, and we shall see that professions of popular principles, are like lowliness, but young Ambition's ladder, in too many cases. The conduct of these professors is exactly the reverse of the solemn test of the Society—a part of which runs thus,

† "I A. B. in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country &c. &c. —to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Irishmen, &c. &c."—Quere. If this test partake of the nature of an oath, have not these men perjured themselves, by acting directly in opposition to its im-

lars then, I requested the favour of the latter to call on me, if convenient, at an appointed hour the next day, for a fuller explanation. Although I had not the pleasure of that gentleman's acquaintance, I was induced to request this favour of him, from the sensible and prepossessing manner in which I had seen him conduct himself in the Society: neither ostentatiously officious in the obtrusion of his own opinions, nor *passively echoing* those of a *professional party*, but delivering his sentiments with a modest firmness and manly propriety, which appeared to me to result from a sincere wish of promoting the general welfare. On the occasion in question, I experienced from that gentleman a polite attention, and a ready promise of calling on me the next day.

The circumstances which I had to explain to Counsellor Rice were as follows. About two months before, I found in the box through which the literary correspondence of the National Evening Star was received, an *anonymous* letter informing me that a prosecution was intended against me, by a *newly created* Earl: the writer cautioned me against selling any News papers of certain dates, which he mentioned, as it was intended to buy at my office some of those Papers on which to found the prosecution. I accordingly gave orders not to sell any of those papers, and I observed they were called for several times by different persons a few days afterwards, which induced me to place a reliance upon the intelligence of my *unknown* friend. It will appear that I was not mistaken. Three or four days after publishing the article from the Northern Star, I found in the letter-box, another *anonymous* letter; written in the *same hand* as the former, informing me that a prosecution would be commenced against me immediately for that publication. Just then I received from Lord Clonmel a notitial writ or summons in the case of the intended prosecution against me, at the suit of the *new-made* Earl, which agreed with the preinformation of my unknown friend; almost immediately after this, I received the citation from his Majesty's Attorney General, (already mentioned) in the case of the prosecution for the article from the Northern Star, agreeable in like manner to the preinformation of my *unknown* friend, which circumstances prepared me to credit any future intelligence from the same quarter.

Shortly after this a Mr. St—kd—le, a member of the Society of United Irishmen with whom I was not particularly then acquainted, called on me and informed me that
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some serious matters were in train against me, and that a magistrate of his acquaintance had been applied to, to grant a warrant for my apprehension, but had refused to have any hand in the business, conceiving that little credit would be gained by his appearing in it. Mr. St—kd—le spoke of my situation, as he was taught to think it, one highly dangerous and *not merely tending to involve property*: he stated his information to be, that my doors could be broke open to seize my person, and such was the intention. I must own, though highly obliged to this person for his friendly information, yet I judged that the interest which he appeared to feel in my situation, might have made him too easily credit the account of the danger in which he had been told I stood, and which being magnified so much, gave me reason to doubt whether his informer was truly warranted in what he said. Indeed although I heard at that time a similar account from two other persons, I could not be prevailed upon to consider it other, than an unaccountable rumour, which ought not to be a source of a moment's uneasiness to me. Matters stood thus, when I went to the meeting of the Society of United Irishmen, on the evening of the 23d of December, where I *seperately* saw the Honourable Simon Butler and Counsellor Rice, when I appointed with the latter to favour me with a meeting to explain the above circumstances, as I have already related.

On going home that night from the meeting, I found in the letter-box another *anonymous letter*, in the same hand writing as the two former, which contained information somewhat similar to that which I had received from Mr. St—kd—le, and positively asserted that it was intended immediately to break my doors, and seize my person. It also asserted that the file of papers of the NATIONAL EVENING STAR was at that moment in the hands of Crown Lawyers and that the publication called "*Common Sense*," published by the United Irishmen, and which was printed in the N. E. Star, was to be made a source of prosecution upon prosecution against me. The unknown writer earnestly advised me not to surrender myself, or give bail for the address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers, untill I should see how matters would go with others, at that moment subject to prosecution.

On receiving this information from a quarter which had twice before proved authentic, I complied with the advice
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of my friends in sleeping from home for a few nights, and next morning wrote an account of these particulars to Counsellor Rice, informing him where I was and begging to know whether on consideration of the matter, I ought, or ought not, to comply with the request of my friends, who strongly and unanimously, advised me *not* to give bail for the address to the Volunteers, until I had more certain assurance of the propriety of doing so: Counsellor Rice was so obliging to call that night to see me, and being informed I was not within, imagined that it might be a precaution arising from the person who answered him, not knowing him; he therefore sent into Mrs. Carey the letter which I had written to him, and agreed that from the circumstances mentioned in it, it was his opinion that I ought to follow the advice of the anonymous letter writer, in keeping out of the way, and not giving bail until I should see what might be the issue of the trials of some of the persons arrested for the address to the Volunteers. I the more readily adopted this mode of proceeding, as it was at that time every where the public opinion, that I as Printer of the National Evening Star was peculiarly obnoxious to certain men in power, and was marked out to be run down by * prosecution and imprisonment, an opinion which was likewise entertained by every member of the Society of United Irishmen, with whom I conversed on the subject, all of whom agreed in strongly recommending to me not to give bail for the address to the Volunteers,

A conviction

* About this time, I received notice of an intended prosecution against me, on account of some papers, supposed to have been printed in my office, without stamps. Some remarkable circumstances, which attended this, may serve to point out from whence it sprung: the papers in question were not of a number of dates, at *different periods*, as would have been the case, had the printing without stamps been practised in my office, but were confined to *three dates, regularly following each other*. While the business was pending, two persons in a public room in Church-street, calling one night for the National Star from a Newsman who used to serve the house, observed several papers without stamps in his parcel. This happened at the time when I slept from home, as above stated. On hearing of it, I felt alarmed as if some treachery had been practised in my absence; but on enquiry, the two persons who had brought the paper from the Stamp-Office, and two more who had worked it at press, attended at several Magistrates Offices to make oath that the whole of the publication of the National Star, on the evening in question, was printed off from a parcel of paper paid for at the Stamp-Office, and brought from thence is duly stamped. The Magistrates, however, on hearing the name of Carey and the *National Star*, thought proper, for what reason I know

A conviction of the utter impropriety of committing a body of men neither recognized nor sanctioned by law against the Legitimate Power, followed fast upon the arrest of Mr. Rowan.

The Lawyers of the Society who had sanctioned the Address as safe and legal, and the advisers and reputed author felt too much confounded and ashamed openly to acknowledge the dangerous situation in which they had plunged the Volunteers and the Society. They sought to draw the attention of the *men from behind their counters*, from the unpleasing prospect, by reminding them that the Volunteers had received the thanks of Parliament, and by affecting to brave the field, in threatening Administration with prosecution, in the *fourth resolution* of the 23d of December.—All this failed to exculpate them from the charge of *ignorance or rash presumption*. Sound Lawyers, not of the Society, gave opinions decidedly against them. The distinction between the civic right of possessing arms, and that of assembling armed bodies in military array, as I have already stated, became clearly understood by the general discussion of so important a question. In the latter case men discovered that an Officious Magistrate, under the protection of the *Riot Act*, might step into carnage, and embrue his hands in the blood of his fellow-citizens, however unjustifiable such a step might be by reason and humanity. Thus the Society of United Irishmen lost its character in the *first instance*, while the PARTY, whose incapacity had disgraced it, were unfortunately permitted to retain an influence to bend it to the ground, under a load of additional infamy by their after proceedings.

In consequence of that unlucky address, troubles multiplied around me, and my prospects were rapidly overcast. I discovered that the Printer who volunteers for the people is an enemy to his own interest: He may obtain applause while sacrificing himself, but must look

I know not, to *refuse* tendering the oaths as required. On this business, I employed Counsellor *Whitstone* with Mr. *Arthur Meredyth Whyte*, as my agent. I also received an offer of attendance from Counsellor *McNally*, who requested me to call on him to speak of particulars. I did so, and not knowing but his voluntarily applying to me, might be taken in two different senses, I thought it right to offer him a guinea as a small compensation, which he declined accepting. I however, expressed my sense of his conduct on that occasion by public thanks in the *National Star* some time after.

little beyond that; he will be well off, if he experience only *simple abandonment* when sacrificed. Already many *political prompters*, who clapped me on the shoulders, and whose mouths were filled some time before with the expressions, "*Public subscription—Public support!—Public spirit!*"—began privately to alter their tone, and to regret my want of *prudent caution!*—They hinted their fears, that the rashness of *my pen*, which they long had dreaded, would prove my destruction. Need I add these worthy men, who like *rats*, seem to possess only the power of working holes in the bottom of the luckless bark into which they creep, began like those *sagacious vermin*, when *their work was done*, to drop off from me, as from a sinking vessel, and I found the *union* so much boasted of, liable, like a *rope of sand*, to be scattered by the first blast of wind, or dissolved by the first shower from the clouds of adversity.

I have already stated how much my business depended on my exertions. I now found how much it suffered by my absence. The want of my personal visitation among my advertising friends was daily visible in the decrease of my advertisements, and the want of my superintendence was evident in the arrangement of the paper.

I cannot here avoid remarking on the assertion which has been *assiduously propagated*, that *I have brought ruinous prosecutions on myself, by the rashness of my own pen.* IT IS WHOLLY FALSE, and has been invented merely to take away the infamy of the base treatment which I have experienced from the very men who have involved me. A prosecution has not been commenced against me in any one instance, for any matter of *my own writing*.—Every line that came from my pen, however bold it might appear to my friends, was sufficiently guarded to secure me from the ill consequence of any law proceedings.—Indeed from the known character of some of the men whom I have now to deal with, I have more reason to be guarded against *legal worrying*, than in any of my writings which ever appeared before the Public. Means have been already taken to prevent the Booksellers from selling this publication in their shops. Some have been *threatened* that *their being in business* should not prevent their being *treated as gentlemen*. Others are to be attacked by prosecution from the *united Lawyers* of the Society, by which one Bookseller who had his name inserted by his own request as an intended publisher in a thousand hand-bills,

and had sent to purchase paper as a partner in the sale of it, was induced to decline having any thing to do, with so *dangerous* a publication. All this, however, will not prevent the publication, nor will it terrify me. The guilty conscience needs no accuser, and starts at enquiry : *fearless innocence* demands it as the test of its *purity*.

To the numerous readers of the National Evening Star, it will afford matter of reflection, when they know that at this period while I tottered on the point of a precipice, my past exertions for a great body of the people, were productive of no exertion whatever in my favour.—

It is certain that all the party who so loudly *bumper*—“ *the Freedom of the Press* ”—either do not know, or do not care what that sentiment implies. I had devoted myself strenuously to the cause of the nation and to the popular interest in the City during all the stages of proscription which gradually shut out the *Patriot Tandy* from Society. That popular interest made no effort for me in return. Already abandonment stared me in the face. My credit was utterly ruined by the public opinion of the dangerous tendency of the Address to the Volunteers, and while I was forced to absent myself from my business, I saw my establishment melting away without a hope of retrieval.

As the occasion on which I have *previously* mentioned Mr. Tandy in these pages, may have rendered my meaning liable to misconstruction, I beg leave to remark that I do not deem that worthy man blameable, but the *party* who brought his name forward in so partial a manner in the Resolutions of the Society of United Irishmen. As that respectable character *owes his ruin to the same set of men who have produced mine*, I shall offer a few reflections upon the subject. For thirty years Mr. Tandy had distinguished himself by the consistent propriety of his conduct; he had opposed with undeviating firmness every attack upon the rights of his fellow-citizens. If his politics were, for a length of time, local and narrowed to the confinement of corporation privileges, it ought to be remembered, that his modes of thinking were formed at a period when the spirit of civil and religious liberty was ill understood,—when persecution was established by law, and illiberality esteemed a virtue.—It is evident that his mind was prevented from expansion, more from the temper of the times, than from any want of

of natural capacity. No sooner did that well-meaning man behold the Catholic Cause assume the dignified form of national discussion, than he frankly gave up the prejudices of his early years. He extended his hand to his unfortunate countrymen, received them to his heart, and supported them to the utmost of his power, at the hazard of his interest in the city. The truest test of his sincerity on that great question will be found in the consideration of the high public character which he enjoyed previous to his generalising his politics, and of the popularity which he sacrificed, by embracing the interests of every class of Irishmen. His name, and that of public spirit, were all over the nation considered synonymous terms. He was first honoured with remembrance in every social circle among the friends to public liberty. He had been fortunate enough to obtain public confidence in seasons when the *pernicious infatuation* of leadership was even still more prevalent in the metropolis, than it is at present. More sedulous to merit the esteem of his fellow-citizens by tenacious adherence, than prompt in reflection, or biggoted to his own opinions, he was rather distinguished for honestly persevering in what he deemed right and necessary, than remarkable for originating measures himself. Even while most looked up to and followed, he acted more from the counsels of others, than from his own sentiments; he was nevertheless slow to adopt an advice until he had reasoned himself into a conviction of its justice. To this habit of being biased by men of whose knowledge and talents he had a favourable opinion, he owes his present exile. While his political opposition was limited to a corporation warfare, he obtained popularity, and owed his safety to a co-operation with *rational men from behind their counters*. His own natural prudence then suggested caution, and his judgment more frequently dictated his conduct. When the Society of United Irishmen rose, and his efforts were directed towards Catholic Emancipation and Reform, he unfortunately took counsel of *presumptuous law* and was committed with *undefined power*. His plain and unassuming good sense, neither suited nor accustomed to the disquisition of abstract politics or of intricate points of law, became wholly subordinate to the intentions of those with whom he acted.

From that moment the Prudent Tandy no longer appeared
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himself. In the hands of a few ignorant and unprincipled Lawyers, and of two or three writing Doctors, who wanting physical practice, were willing to prescribe for the State, the reputation of firm discretion, which a long life had obtained for him, was rapidly squandered, and the public beheld with concern and indignation, that honest man rendered the victim of imprudent and dangerous political experiments. These men whose sottish vanity and ostentation of public spirit, are only to be equalled by their incapacity and want of honour,—and whose eternal system is to impel the weak against the strong, hurried him into the fruitless and memorable suit against “John Fane”—the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—and from step to step, from the distribution of—“the *Address to the Volunteers*”—to that of—“*Common Sense*”—another dangerous publication which had their sanction, until he had no alternative left but to tear himself from the country of his birth, and from his kindred and connections, or to abide the issue of prosecutions which might involve his whole property, and plunge him in a prison for perhaps the remainder of his days.

Mr. Tandy's fate is a striking example of the ruinous consequences of permitting the temerity of Law, or the reveries of Physick, to sway a political association.

It is the opinion of men acquainted with Mr. Tandy's natural and habitual circumspection, that he would be still resident in Ireland, and as much the theme of popular applause as ever, had he not linked himself unfortunately with the men who are now combined against the Printer Carey. It may be said that the particular charge from which he is supposed to have withdrawn himself, was entirely his own, but it is very well known that these wise and courageous partisans latterly directed all his measures. It is known that beside the charge alluded to, he was on the point of standing his trial in Dundalk, for a supposed distribution of the paper published under their sanction, called “*Common Sense*,” for distributing which, Mr. Patrick Byrne of Seaton, near that town, was fined in the sum of *one thousand pounds*, and sentenced to a confinement of *one year*. Mr. Tandy had also to stand his trial on a charge of distributing the *Address* of the Society of United Irishmen to the *Volunteers*.

With respect to the publication called “*Common Sense*”—the persons who had advised its publication in the Society of United Irishmen, were no way affected with the fate of
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Mr. Byrne of Seaton. They neither interfered to support him under prosecution, nor contributed to pay his fine. Although the circumstances which had involved him originated with them, and were wholly without his intention or concurrence. Mr. Byrne had sent an order up to a *Printer, a member of the Society of United Irishmen, to reprint in a flying sheet a thousand copies of one or two letters by Mr. Todd Jones, which had appeared in the National Evening Star: at the same time, he requested to have any new political publications enclosed to him in the parcel, when it should be forwarded to him, by the Dundalk Stage. It had been recommended to this Printer, as his duty in common with every other of its members, to distribute the publications of the Society. When the parcel was ready, among other matters he, from a belief that the lawyers of the Society would not have permitted the publication of any paper liable to a dangerous construction, enclosed a number of copies of †“Common Sense” to Mr. Byrne. Previous to Mr. Byrne’s trial, that gentlemen wrote to the Printer, who had been made the unintentional instrument of involving him, requesting him to state these circumstances in writing to him, to serve as an extenuation of the charge against him before the court. The Printer was willing to comply, but by the advice of counsel, was prevented from doing so, it being their opinion that any such act on his part, would only tend to involve himself, without serving Mr. Byrne, as although it might prove that the paper called—“Common Sense”—had been sent to him without his order; yet the act of distributing it which constituted the offence, remained in full force. Fortunately Mr. Byrne’s property enabled him to discharge the fine, which would have proved the ruin of many others in confined circumstances. What he suffered, threw an odium upon the character of the Society, and served as a warning to the country of the little support which could be expected from it. It thus grew to lose its powers of influencing public opinion, as it began to be deemed a source of danger to unsuspecting men, rather than a source of benefit to the community. While this unfavourable opinion diffused itself through the public mind, a number of valuable men, respectable for their property, and distinguished for their sound sense and steady judgment, gradually ceased to attend the meetings of the Society.

* W. P. Carey

† These copies were received at a meeting of the Society of United Irishmen and printed by it in a hand-bill.

To return to my own affairs—seeing no hope of extrication, and being forced to keep out of the way from my business, I was necessitated to sell the National Evening Star and its property, under every disadvantage. In doing which I preferred to dispose of it on a part credit to a person who I had reason to suppose devoted to the public cause, rather than to deal for ready money with a man of opposite principles, who was in treaty with me. Unfortunately for me, at the closing of the agreement, the person to whom I sold, informed me of his incapacity of, just then, advancing any part of the payment, through some disappointments which he had not foreseen, and I was persuaded to take his notes for the whole at 61 days, 3, 6, and 9 months payment.

Thus was I forced from an establishment which would have afforded me a respectable permanence for life, had I not sacrificed my own interest to that of the public. For that situation even my enemies are necessitated to acknowledge I was peculiarly fitted. As a native of Dublin, my connections would have afforded a lucrative patronage in the advertising line, which they did, until my wholly devoting the paper to the popular questions of emancipation and reform, lessened the number of my friends and created me a host of enemies. After the public judgment had so decidedly adopted the National Star as its favourite, while supported only by my own writings, I may without any charge of vanity, be allowed to say, that my pen was capable of supporting it free of any expence for literary aid. I have already mentioned the various departments which occupied my attention, as proofs how severely I suffered in being compelled from my situation. I had just then succeeded in reducing the expenditure in Journeymen's wages &c. from between 9*l.* or 10*l.* weekly to a medium between 3 or 4*l.* I had also an immediate prospect of making a still further reduction.—I had taken seven apprentices to the business, and I had an offer from a person of the name of Bell, who had served four years to the trade and was acquainted with the making up of a News-paper, to act as Foreman for me, at the low rate of three crowns per week for the remainder of his time. Another young man who had also served three years on a country News-paper, and is now employed on the Morning Star, was willing to bind himself to me for the remainder of his time at three half crowns per week.—These two with my own boys, who were day apprentices, could have printed the Paper for me, under

under my own superintendence, at an expence so low, that I would not only have had it in my power to make good all my engagements in a short time, but would have acquired funds to extend my views in business, and to assure myself of a handsome independence by my industry for the remainder of my days.

Few situations can be conceived more mortifying than that which I experienced after my retreat from the political field. Although it was the opinion of all my friends, that I should be compelled in the end to quit Ireland, yet willing to fulfill my engagements as far as in my power, I had all those to whom I was indebted, called to a meeting to give up all I was possessed of to them. Mr. E. C. Keane a respectable attorney attended this meeting, with Mr. C. Mathews, both members of the Society of United Irishmen. To each of these persons I owe my thanks for the interest which they have ever manifested in my affairs: The former no sooner heard that I was debarred from appearing abroad, than he called on me to express his concern for the unfortunate dilemma in which I was involved, and requested in the kindest manner that I would command his professional services as a friend, whenever I might have occasion. His friendly conduct to me in many instances, his known integrity, and honour, and his spirited and laudable behaviour on the night when the exoneration of my bail was moved, exculpate him from any share of the censure due to the report of the *Committee of Three*. My acquaintance with Mr. Mathews. was occasioned by the impression made on him, by his reading the letters which I wrote in my own paper, under the signature of "*Junius Hibernicus*"—What most particularly struck him will be found in the following extract from one of the letters addressed to the *Right Honourable* HENRY GRATTAN, entreating his co-operation in Parliament, with the other friends of the Catholic Petition, at a time when that distinguished Senator had not yet openly stood forward in behalf of the Catholic Claims.

Extract—"There was a day, when your name was a sure omen of success to the popular side, which you embraced:—when every question which you supported, was carried in despite of the opposing phalanx of corruption, while your reputation growing with the prosperity of the nation, seemed firm as the stable foundations of the Island, whose cause you espoused.

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We regret the present inefficacy of your eloquence.—We are not at a loss in accounting for its cause. We recollect your parliamentary importance at the period which effected our free trade and legislative independence.—How striking the contrast with your late fruitless attempts upon the citadel of the Police, and the other well known objects which now seem boundaries to your political pursuits ! Can we ever forget our hopes, our emotions at the former memorable era ?—At that day, the only day when Ireland was capable of striking a decisive blow against the prevailing English interest,—How glorious were our prospects ! Irishmen were not then ashamed to be united.—Superstition and prejudice after a reign of so many ages, seemed to have lost their power of injuring us : Those many headed Hydras of calamity, after having so successfully fomented discord among our ill-fated fore-fathers, and so cruelly extinguished the tenderest affections of humanity, at length slumbered at the feet of Public Spirit.—The distinctions of Protestant and Catholic were forgotten. We beheld those two bodies so long disaffected by the shameless policy of their mutual oppressors, crowding with generous emulation to the National Standard.—The Protestant feeling his own weakness, let me add, softened by the enlightened spirit of the times, extended his hand in friendship to his Catholic Brethren. The Catholic, accustomed to insult, to humiliation, to oppression, heard with joy and doubt, the cheering sounds of—
“ EQUAL FATE AND EQUAL FREEDOM ; ”
—in the honest simplicity of his heart, he relied on the equivocal declaration : he ceased to weep over the wounds of his country ; over those of his degraded community.—Grateful for the temporary recognition of his equality, warmed by a hope of liberal emancipation, he forgave, he forgot, at once, his long sufferings, and armed with alacrity in *your* cause. The banner of freedom was displayed ; that sacred banner under which the Irish Volunteers resolved to perish, or to obtain a free Constitution. The country echoed with the glorious sounds—of **“ Death or Liberty.”**

The sword was drawn, not by a band of foreign mercenaries—of military plunderers, athirst for the bloody spoils of lawless invasion—it was drawn by the assembled youth of Ireland—a host of intrepid patriots, cemented by the dearest ties of friendship and consanguinity. In
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that day of National glory you appeared in the sacred uniform of a citizen soldier, our most distinguished leader. We beheld you go forth to the warfare of honour, like another David,—powerful in your own eloquence, but infinitely more terrible to your enemies; in the strength of Ireland. Armed with the thunders of the people, you shook and overturned the altars of corruption in the Senate. Our oppressors no longer viewed you as the Representative of an obscure Borough;—they trembled before you as in the presence of the organ of a powerful nation. —You triumphed, while the Catholic and Protestant Patriots stood at your back, seconding the torrent of your eloquence with the energetic resolves of United Millions.

I have not forgot that in that day, my Catholic Kindred and my friends stood with you, aiding your struggles for the benefits of a free constitution, which, if obtained, they were designed to be excluded from: Young as I then was, my heart joined you. I exulted in the martial enthusiasm of my country.—The dawn of freedom appeared welcome to me, as light to one in darkness; as the breath of Heaven to one suffocating in a dungeon—it ripened my faculties to an early maturity, and infused into my *boyish* breast, the principles, the energy, and the soul of a man.

Constrained to address you through the medium of a free press, I am forced to suit my language to the little prejudices of party, and to the peculiar circumstances of the times. Alas, when the stile of honest truth is deemed *libellous* and *criminal*, it becomes necessary to sink the firm resolves of the mind into humble intreaty, and to appeal to the feelings as well as to the reason of our oppressors. You may judge what were the sentiments of others at that memorable crisis, when you shall hear what were mine.—Born a Catholic, my slavery commenced with my existence. The first sounds which I heard were mingled with the complaints of the unfortunate community of which I was a member; even the early period of my infancy was not free from the evil consequences of oppression. Before I could be sensible of my degradation, the powers of my mind were limited by the rigours of a

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literary proscription: forbade the benefits of a liberal education, it became necessary that I should drink *by stealth* of the fountain of learning, over which the *informing* Wolf thirsted for the spoils of prosecution. The progress of my childhood led to a sense of my condition: the expansion of my reason confirmed me in the knowledge of my hereditary misfortunes. I beheld government, originally designed to restrain man from oppressing his fellow, here perverted to the purposes of legal oppression: by it I should be punished, only for doing wrong: by it I felt assailed by a system of injury, and liable to be punished for the exercise of my right. Imagine then what must be my ideas, when I heard the voice of the nation expressive of but *one* sentiment—"EQUAL FATE AND EQUAL FREEDOM!" When I saw the means of freedom in your hands, I fondly flattered myself that they were employed for that end. Sanguine in so glorious a cause, which had almost become a vital principle of my existence, my hopes incessantly represented to me that fatal Hydra, the English influence, prostrate at your feet.—When our patriots talked of independence, I saw no obstacle to their obtaining it. A REFORM in parliament might then have been effected, for it was the *wish of the people*, and it has been with truth declared that a *people* to be free, have only to wish to be so. Had their* *leaders been in earnest*, the *English influence* would have been destroyed, you would still hold your political consequence, and your country would be free.—

If these glorious prospects were soon marred, the cause is no secret. The *evil genius of Ireland* spoke through the lips of an *illiberal nobleman* who had obtained to lead the popular opinions *more by opposing Government, than by any service performed for his country*. From that moment public spirit which before felt the island too narrow to contain it, was struck with a fatal palsy: it shrunk a prisoner into the dark and miserable recess of his prejudiced mind. The intolerance of *one* † unfortunate man proved destructive to the interests of millions.

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* This letter was published in the National Evening Star, February 9th and 18th, 1792; it proves I have ever been an *enemy* to the *pernicious situation of Leadership*, and a friend to the rights of the *People*.

† Here occurs a forcible example of the evil effects of the spirit of *Leadership*. It again proves the uniformity of my sentiments on the subject

It immediately appeared that the framers of our intended constitution had contracted their views from the broad and permanent basis of national freedom, to the narrow scale of unfeeling party. They answered to the poet's description of men. "*Whocall it freedom when themselves are free*"—they were willing to make use of the people as far as might be necessary to weaken the government, in order to strengthen that aristocracy which they composed. Their constitution was to be a constitution of monopoly and of exclusive privilege, it

ject. He must be deemed a mad architect who would attempt to invert the order of the Pyramid, by seeking to build it from the point upwards to the Polygon. Yet such is the conduct of those who would make associated bodies build upon the talent, the rank or the integrity of some one Political Leader, to whom they are to surrender their powers of thinking, speaking, and acting. Such a man, if he unite ability and integrity, may serve the Public, but being liable to err, the people who are accustomed to admire his opinions, as implicitly follow his errors as his virtues, and are themselves the sufferers. The consequence of this absurd prejudice is, that men, so influenced, do not judge by the *intrinsic* merits or demerits of what is said or done, but enquire—*who* said it—or *who* did it? and sagaciously decide accordingly. A whimsical instance of this mode of judging occurred in the Gallery of the House of Commons, during the debates on the Catholic Bill;—a well known respectable citizen came in, at a time, when the captivating eloquence of Colonel Hutchinson commanded a still pause of attention in the House. After listening a few minutes with apparent pleasure, he enquired eagerly what was the Gentleman's name who was speaking.—some one near him, either through mistake or design, answered, "Mr. Ogle." Upon this the enquirer's countenance changed instantly to an expression of the *strongest disgust*, after an exclamation too coarse for repetition, he cried—"Ay,—Ay,—speak away, with the D——I at your elbow! We need not be astonished at hearing of *Break-a-day-men* and *Defenders*, cutting each others throats, when the like of you are in Parliament—from such members of Parliament the Lord deliver us!"—After this he paid no more attention to the Speaker, but got into discourse with a person next him, lamenting the utter want of discernment manifested by the people in the choice of men to represent them in Parliament. This honest man, nevertheless does not want for sense, and has many good qualities, which command the esteem of his acquaintance. He is a United Irishman, and was one of those who promised me to support the motion for the exoneration of my bail, because he said—"he thought it *but honest*, that the Society should do that at least for me, as it had occasioned my arrest;" but meeting him after the issue of that night, I perceived his opinion changed—upon which I reminded him of his own expressions—he answered me with some embarrassment—"Why my dear Sir—I—I—I certainly did, say, that I thought the Society should in honesty, pay your bail,—and *would think so still*, but I find that is not the Honourable Simon Butler's opinion."—The great stress this worthy man laid on the word Honourable, rendered any reply unnecessary. This man I do not blame, but his Prompter.

was apparently to destroy that English influence on which it secretly leaned for support : like the Danish Tyrant commanding the sea—" Thus far shall thou go—and no further"—it was to fix boundaries to the liberty which the Almighty had prescribed as the indefeasible birthright of man.—At a period so shortly preceding the abolition of primogeniture in France, it sought to establish an iniquitous primogeniture in society, by which the majority of the people were to be robbed of their inheritable share in the power and honours of the state. Thus our cities were still to be split into opposite interests—arising from the shameful tyranny of corporation aristocrats, and the independence of Ireland was still to be sacrificed at the feet of the British Minister. The little conspiracy for partial liberty, failed, ever reflecting disgrace on men who were willing to apply a cure to their own complaints, yet were resolved to keep the wounds of their Catholic Brethren open, bleeding without a remedy."—*See National Evening Star, Feb. 1792.*

It appears, that reading the above, made a strong impression on Mr. Mathews, who I am informed is a descendant of *Owen Roe M'Mahon*, a name rendered memorable by his misfortunes, being with other of Mr. Mathews's paternal and maternal ancestors despoiled of the family property, and of their lives by the sword of persecution, at a period fatal to such a number of the unfortunate Irish Catholics. Mr. Mathews himself when a boy, in common with other children of the same persuasion, was prevented by the prohibition of the laws, from finishing that education for which a good heart and strong natural sense *peculiarly fitted him*. I have often heard him dwell with much feeling on the circumstance of himself and his school-fellows, following their unfortunate Schoolmaster in melancholy procession through the streets of Dublin to prison, to which he was dragged from his school for the heinous crime of teaching Catholic children to *read and write*, being himself of that Communion. He remembers the days when the unhappy objects of persecution were glad to assemble by stealth, at the first dawn of twilight, to attend the secret celebration of divine service, in old houses, stables, and waste grounds. It was common then to hear on a Sunday and holiday, of dreadful accidents owing to the fall of houses and breaking down of lofts
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by the crowd gathered on these occasions. He recalls the names of six or seven Clergymen, who in those unfortunate times, were confined in Newgate among common felons, for exercising their sacred function, under the edge of the penal statutes. After having seen the better part of a life of integrity and unsullied reputation pass away in this state of deplorable oppression, he at length witnessed that fortunate Era, of which the above extract from JUNIUS HIBERNICUS speaks. He heard with astonishment the sound of —“ EQUAL FATE AND EQUAL FREEDOM” — He beheld the National Banner unfurled, and Irishmen crowding without distinction to that glorious standard! — What a noble source of gratification to an honest heart? What a happy change from the state of humiliation which he had experienced a few years before, when his house was entered and himself insulted by a bad hearted neighbour, under the pretence of searching for concealed arms. He saw the meek and reverend character of the Priesthood emerge from precarious obscurity into light and safety. The celebration of the Mass ceased to be a service of danger. The odious distinction of *Papist*, and the reprobation of *Popery*, were lost in the fraternal name of *Irishman*, and the universal cry of freedom. The great body of the people no longer debarred the use of arms, hastened to form a part of that memorable army of citizens, which first raised Ireland from the condition of an obscure and pillaged province, to the rank of an independent nation.* The Catholic, with the military habit, acquired the countenance—the decision of a man, and the spirit of a soldier. He surveyed the fair enclosure of the Constitution as a *promised*

* “ Is there an honest Irishman who will not ever remember, with exultation, that æra of National Triumph, when Ireland, glorying in the fullness of her strength, and terrible in the Union of her Millions, demanded her right! All was granted which her placable generosity was satisfied to demand, in that hour so splendid to her, and so humiliating to her oppressors.”

“ The preceding remark may be said to have been already the subject of repetition. Can a truth be too often repeated which ought never to be forgotten? The conviction of the National strength will invigorate the National Councils. The decided success of the National Union, at that auspicious period, should prove the destruction of the National prejudice at this.”—*Extract from the Prospectus of the National Star*, Aug. 1791. It shews that my opinions have ever been uniform on this subject.

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land, which Heaven had ordained him to enter. From that moment the wish of freedom slowly diffused itself among the people, and the eye of the philosopher looking forward through the progress of years, foresaw whenever that wish should become general,—the great work of *Emancipation* must be compleated.

Irishmen will pardon my dwelling on this period, which will ever form a shining epoch in the annals of their country. To this period I have ever been fond to recur, and while I contemplate it with pleasure, it enables me to look forward with hope that *Reform*, which is the laudable object of pursuit, will be obtained, as *Irish Independence* and *Catholic Emancipation* have been, in the bosom of peace, by the common and honourable consent of the King, the Senate, and the People.

Mr. Mathews early availed himself of the liberty of appearing in arms. I have been told he was one of the first Catholics in this city who joined the Independent Dublin Volunteers. Men who are acquainted with the human mind, will judge that the character was not less dear to him for its novelty. After having borne arms fourteen years, it is still a source of laudable pride and pleasure to his honest heart. The citizens who stood up in defence of their country, with justice, attach to their military uniform a portion of the glory acquired by that grand and popular movement. I may with truth aver, that at present, when Mr. Mathews in the little circle of his friends and family, puts on the dress of the Corps to which he belongs, he receives an additional flow of spirits, and seems to enjoy a happy renewal of his years.

The letters which I wrote under the signature of *Junius Hibernicus*, particularly that from which the above extract is made, so forcibly recalled to the memory of this worthy man, the scenes of persecution which he himself had witnessed, as to occasion his first visit to me. He told me he wished to be acquainted with me as the Proprietor of a paper which had so warmly taken up the cause of the People.—He informed me, that when reading that letter he shed tears, on recollecting the times which it so faithfully painted. There are occasions which more than repay a writer for the fatigues of study. This was one of those delightful
moments

moments to me; it offered to me the tribute of an honest nature, which is ever the more precious as we know it to be sincere. Among such men my public conduct has ever procured me numerous friends. It is to this respectable class I address my Appeal. Plain and sensible men, whose hearts are neither *chilled* by *literary pride*, nor tainted by *literary jealousy*, have *never deemed it a diminution of their own consequence* to acknowledge the *humble merits* of a well-meaning Printer. Unbiased and unacquainted with the crooked subtleties of the law, their lives are a practice of integrity; and they are ever open to the convictions of reason. They behold in these pages a series of misconduct by which half a dozen *weak and unprincipled* individuals, have *passed the public energies*, and *prostrated the public cause*.—That part of the United Irishmen which I esteem, the *honest men* from *behind their counters* will blush at the retrospect—they will open their eyes, to the ill consequences of blindly following the opinions of *ambitious and inconsistent leaders*, who make use of the people merely as step-ladders for their own exaltation. The moment they do so, the collective mind of the Society will recover its tone. It will cease to be guided by a narrow and angry principle of LITIGATION, because *its attempts in that way have been ever injurious to itself*, and because *it is not by litigation, but by CONCILIATION*, that the great *mass of moderate men* can be brought to UNITE in seeking reform. It will exchange the *obscure* inflation of metaphysical solemnity, and the impracticable threats of Lawyers, for the more moderate and efficacious language of demonstrative reason—because a moment's consideration must convince reflecting men, that almost *every paper which has been imposed upon the Society by its LEADERS*, has only tended to *thin its meetings—to divest it of public confidence and of a character of integrity, to cast a colour of suspicion upon its views, and by a fatal perversion of its object, to afford fresh pretexts for fettering the powers of the People, and abridging the share of liberty which they before enjoyed.*

Previous to my seeing Mr. Mathews, I had heard of him as a man warmly attached to the Public Cause. He had conducted himself with unsullied integrity through many severe vicissitudes of fortune in a very extensive line
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of business, as a Distiller. His respectable character made me pleased with his acquaintance. He appeared to me one of those men who have more claims upon our esteem from internal worth, than extrinsic shew, or studied professions.— I found him full of the recollections of a long life, new and interesting to me. He was intimately acquainted with the gradual advancement of the Catholic interests, from his having acted in the General Committee of the Irish Catholics, as one of the Deputies from the Parish in which he lives.— In that station he appeared for nine years, the colleague of KEOGH, whose courage and talents first gave the impulse of freedom to three millions of Irishmen, and who originated the bold measure of overturning the Aristocracy of the General Committee. To Mr. Mathews I am indebted for some authentic anecdotes of this extraordinary man, which have been of service to me in the historical account of the first institution and proceedings of the Catholic Committee, down to the dissolution of the Convention, a work which I have for sometime been arranging for publication.

I have been induced to pay a tribute to the character of Mr. Mathews, because of the high sense I have of his laudable conduct to me—because of the respect which he is deserving of, and in order more fully to expose the *real character* of the Cabal who opposed the *exoneration* of *so worthy a man* from the payment of a sum which he has incurred by bailing me, when arrested for publishing the Address of the Society to the Volunteers: Above all I have in view to impress upon the *honest men from behind their counters*, the necessity of vindicating themselves by coming forward and passing a resolution in the Society to discharge the sum of *two hundred pounds*, in which Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright are bound for my appearance to take my trial for publishing the Address to the Volunteers.

I am aware that there is a description of men, *in and out* of the Society of United Irishmen, which will feel hurt at my dwelling on the merits of a *plain honest man of business*. The eyes of this class are continually lifted up for *elevated* subjects of eulogium. They appear willing to endow persons of high birth and superior possessions, with a sort of *moral inviolability*, as if they can do no ill. With such men, courage, talents, integrity, and public spirit, are only virtuous or estimable, according to the rank in
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which they appear. If they are never *first* to discover the merits of a deserving man, and are often ready to depreciate him, they make amends by being ever foremost to extol *any name already popular*. They are willing to bestow as a gift of their own creation, every great and shining quality upon any man who can claim the name of an Independent Gentleman, or even to fancy them in any insignificant person, who can boast of a drop of noble blood in his veins. Having once obtruded their Idol on the altar of public opinion—they divest him of every human frailty, and from that hour he possesses the political science of a Machiavel—the valorous renown of a hero of romance, and the disinterested virtue of a Roman Patriot. After this the *faith* of the nation in their *oracle* must be *Catholic*, and the *heretic* who dares to question his *infallibility*—is an *enemy* to the *public cause*, and unworthy of public estimation. Mean while these *political idolaters* are blind to that warmth, but unassuming *public spirit*, that honest firmness of soul, which, in men like *Mathews*, dignifies the more useful, but less glaring walks of *Society*.

I here shall, for a while, quit that worthy man. I have not visited him since the evening after Mr. J. Sheares's motion for my expulsion was carried: my reason being, that any intimacy between him and me, would not tend to obtain him the friendship of the *leaders* of the Society, upon whose precarious will, he must now depend, for the payment of the sum in which he is bound, by their act, for my standing my trial.

Few situations can be imagined more unpleasant than that in which I was plunged, after I had lost my establishment. The persons to whom I was under engagements in business were all willing but *one*, to accept the settlement I proposed, namely, that of giving up to them the whole of the notes which I received for the newspaper, and a considerable sum due to me, being all I possessed. The person, who then, and since, has obstinately refused to come to terms, was influenced by an opinion, that the party to which I had been so zealously devoted, and by which I had suffered, would have come forward to repay

me, by a compensation worthy of my acceptance. This opinion, which was at that time prevalent, was founded on something more than a surmise. A principal active character, whose influence is equal to his talents, and whose talents have been so successfully exerted for a great body of the people, declared to one of the persons, who since became my bail, that he did intend to exert his interest to obtain me an honourable compensation for the injuries I had suffered. Of this circumstance, I was informed, in the presence of Mr. Mathews. I likewise received an assurance from a citizen of known probity and of high respectable character, in a public body, that he would also exert his interest to extricate me from the difficulties in which I was plunged. I several times met this gentleman to advise on the mode of serving me. The matter was so far in consideration, that it was proposed to me, if I could *first* procure any settlement from my creditors, a design would be after executed, to reinstate me in business. This proposal was, however, defeated by the person already alluded to, still refusing to come to any terms, such as my situation allowed. On this, the difficulties in which I was involved, were assigned as reasons of all interference being declined by the gentlemen of whom I speak, in whose power it was to influence the great party of the people, to whose cause I had so uniformly devoted the *National Evening Star*.—Thus the business fell to the ground.—I mention this on two accounts; the one because I think it fair to point out every circumstance to *future printers*, which may warn them how far a reliance can be placed upon the support of popular bodies; the other, because I have heard it asserted, that on the occasion of which I speak, the business took a different turn, and concluded wholly in my favour.

At that time some of my immediate connections who had all along warned me of the consequences of relying on the *leaders* of the popular party, pointed out to me the necessity of doing something to extricate myself from the imminent situation in which I was plunged. They declared it was their opinion that if I remained silent and inactive myself, those who might be expected to exert themselves for me, would remain *silent* and *inactive* also. It appeared

to them that I ought to write to some one or other of those who possessed an influence in the *Society of United Irishmen*, which had involved me in difficulties, and witnessed the tenor of my public conduct. They hoped that men who knew the value of a Free Press, and who professed so much zeal for the Public Interest, would perceive the ill consequence of permitting a Printer to be ruined by devoting himself to the public cause. What made them more urgent was their knowledge that the public were interested in my situation, as my conduct and principles had been fortunate enough to obtain the general approbation, this induced my immediate friends to think a moment ought not to be lost—the matter needed but the interference of one or two honest men of influence, to ensure its success.

It was observed to me, that in a case like mine, the Printer is honoured by having *deserved* to become the object of public protection. He does not stand in the light of a man receiving aid on account of *unforeseen misfortunes*:—such as a citizen by *fire*; or a merchant by *shipwreck*;—a family by the *sudden death* of its sole supporter; or by the *bankruptcy* of others: all these may happen to the *deserving* as well as to the *undeserving*. They are *misfortunes*, not *merits*, and although in such calamities it is honourable in the public to bestow an *aid*, yet the *public loses nothing by withholding it*. These cases differ as much from that of the Printer, as an accidental maim, or the contusion received by a highwayman, from the honourable wound of a patriot foldier. It was explained to me, that the Printer's *merits* are his *misfortunes*, and his *misfortunes* are his *merits*. As the public cause has no advocate so efficacious as the Free Press, the public in abandoning a Public Spirited Printer, injure themselves. They intimidate other Printers, and the Free Press, their advocate is silenced: a consequence which has followed the injurious treatment I received. Twelve months ago, the Addresses of the Society of United Irishmen, were published in the different newspapers of Dublin, *now* they are necessitated to circulate them by stealth in private, in the form of handbills.

The whole of this reasoning, except the latter remark which arises out of the subject, was strongly urged to me. Men of sense, who are aware of the high importance of
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the Free Press to a people seeking for freedom, will judge of it dispassionately. They will perhaps deem that a well-meaning Printer, who steps aside from the safe line of his business, to serve the public, and thereby looks a danger in the face, of which he is aware, ought to stand upon an elevated ground, of public consideration. They will look around them and see in *other nations seeking for freedom*, where *rank and ostentatious parade* fell before utility, Printers, the proprietors of Public Journals, were the first objects of public notice as most capable of serving the public interests. The result of their considerations will, probably, not be very different from that of my friends—they will think, that *to foresee a hazard, and yet to meet it for the public good, is a merit*, whether successful or otherwise, entitled to the public approbation and protection.

A methodical man of business speaking with me on this subject, was of opinion that the Printer and the Public, or the Public body by which he suffers, stand as Creditor and Debtor—and that his account ought to be drawn thus :

1792.

The Public—or the Society of United Irishmen,

To the Printer,

To injuries sustained by the loss of advertising friends, in consequence of devoting my newspaper to their service, and to the loss of my credit by prosecutions incurred on account of my public principles, and by publishing their papers,

Dr.
£. S. D.

This debt the honest trader maintains, not being recoverable at law, is a *debt of honour*, and as such ought to be discharged *unsolicited*, with a cheerful and respectful promptitude, and in cases of the kind, such men as either by rank or property, or popular character, claim the honour of *leading the public*, are the persons who are bound to see such debt of honour punctually discharged. That is, they are bound personally, to exert their influence over the Public, to see it discharged, and where such debt of honour is *not* discharged, it is not the Public but the *Leaders* who are chargeable with the shame of the transaction.

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On the occasion of which I speak, I saw that I must either walk heroically to a prison, or take the advice of my friends, by writing to some person of influence in the Society of United Irishmen. I wrote accordingly to Mr. Rowan on the subject, as a person who appeared likely to answer the end proposed. I had many reasons for preferring to write to Mr. Rowan. I still preserved the first impression which his character made on me, and on the Public. His interference in behalf of a persecuted and calumniated child, already the victim of ruffian violence, and marked out for further calamities, formed a striking display of humanity, of courage, and disinterested generosity. The manly propriety of his conduct on that memorable occasion, exhibited a noble contrast to the infamous arts of the *conspiracy* to which he was opposed, and threw an honourable lustre upon his name, which then first attracted the public notice. At that period I addressed a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in behalf of the unfortunate girl, who was the object of Mr. Rowan's protection. It was written in the course of an evening, spent at the house of a bookseller, who published it as a sixpenny pamphlet, with a *complimentary* letter of mine to Mr. Rowan on the subject.—This publication falling into the hands of Mr. Rowan, met his approbation so far, as to induce him to enquire after the writer of the letter, which appeared under the signature of *Scriblerius Murtough O'Pindar*. He then addressed the following note to the Bookseller, as he wished my letter re-printed for his own use to bind up with one published by himself on that occasion.

College-Green. Mrs. Chamberlaine.

Madam,

As I meant to sew up Mr. CAREY's letter with *mine*, it would be proper to have some note to the following purport—Among the publications of the day, the following *is so superior to all the rest*, that Mr. HAMILTON ROWAN, has, with the permission of Mr. W. P. CAREY, the author, attached it to his own"—For otherwise I may be supposed to be the author, under an anonymous signature.

I am your obedient servant,

A. H. ROWAN.

Accordingly

Accordingly in re-printing my letter for Mr. Rowan's use, a note, as specified in the above, appeared in the first page, and I received from Mrs. Hamilton, (Mr. Rowan's mother) several copies of the two letters sewed up together by his desire. I published several other letters on this occasion, in which I exerted myself as Mr. Rowan did, being a *disinterested* advocate of an oppressed and injured innocent. After this I resided in London, almost two years. On my return I wrote to Mr. Rowan, to request him to sit for his portrait to me, for the purpose of publishing an engraving from it, as a companion to the Portrait of Mr. J. N. Tandy, which I had just before painted, engraved and published. On this occasion I received from Mr. Rowan the following answer :

Mr. W. P. Carey,
Capel-street, Dublin.

SIR,

Not expecting any letter so soon after my arrival, I did not send to Maynooth until this day. The very polite and flattering terms you have made use of as to myself, as well as those manly patriotic sentiments which your letter breathes, demand my personal acknowledgements. I shall go to Dublin on Monday next, and will call on you, or if you are an early riser, you will find breakfast at Dominick-street, on Tuesday next, at nine o'clock.

I am

Your obedient Servant,
A. H. ROWAN.

Rathcoffy,

April 28th, 1791.

At the time when Mr. Rowan wrote so complaisantly to me, I was an independent man; unincumbered by difficulties; unindebted to any man; capable of answering every engagement I contracted, possessed of some repute as a Painter and Engraver. In the former of these arts I had received but a tuition of about eighteen months or two years when a boy, during which I obtained two prizes in the Dublin Academy—the latter I had acquired a proficiency in without the instructions of any master. It is unnecessary for me to add to this that I was known to the Public as a person of some literary character, which Mr. Rowan's note corroborates, and as

a man whose pen had never been prostituted for pay, but had been uniformly devoted to the cause of justice and the interests of the people. Happy had it been for me, if I had rested content in that situation, or if in quitting it I had enough of prudent selfishness to prefer my own interest to that of the Public. I then would not have experienced the *treacherous jealousy* of a cold and barren *Metaphysician* and his unprincipled coadjutors: nor would I have to flee my native city, marked out as an object of vengeance by the Government, and a memorable example of the want of *honour, honesty, and manly spirit* in the *Leaders* of a party by whom I have been betrayed.

When I complied with the advice of writing on the subject of my situation to Mr. Rowan—the plan of a public subscription was submitted to me, which I did not take the liberty of altering, although I objected to some of the terms made use of in it. It was drawn up by a respectable clergyman, and corrected by two members of the society of United Irishmen. This plan I sent with a letter to Mr. Rowan, fully explaining the intension. It was the opinion of those who advised me to request the sanction of Mr. Rowan's name, that *on being applied to*, he would come forward decidedly, by exerting his influence personally, among the popular interest, so as to produce a sum, worthy of them to bestow, and of my acceptance, such as might enable me to make some attempt towards extricating myself from the difficulties in which the Society had involved me. Mr. Rowan however, was content, *literally*, to grant my request, and to subscribe his name to the plan of subscription, which was as follows:

FRIENDS TO THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

We the undersigned persons seeing with concern an *unjustifiable attempt to crush a deserving individual*, evinced in the various prosecutions set on foot against W. P. CAREY, late Printer and Proprietor of the NATIONAL EVENING STAR, and being of opinion that his spirited exertions in the public cause *alone* have marked him out as an *object for the vengeance of power*, feel it our duty to come forward to sanction and invite A PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION to prevent *his becoming the victim of his disinterested zeal.*
WE

We take the Liberty of RECOMMENDING THIS MEASURE TO OUR FELLOW CITIZENS, who, we trust, will prove that a Printer embracing the popular cause, will not, in the hour of danger be deserted by those who are by gratitude, for every exertion of benevolence and ability on his part, bound to support him against the oppressions a man devoted to their service has incurred, and is fully likely to incur.

A LIBERAL and WELL TIMED SUBSCRIPTION FOR THE PERSECUTED CAREY will shew to those who seek to prevent the free circulation of political opinions that we consider the cause of an UNBIASSED AND SPIRITED PRINTER TO BE CONNECTED WITH THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, and ultimately CEMENTED WITH THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE.

A. Hamilton Rogers

W. T. Jones

James Napper Tandy

T. A. Emmet

T. W. Tine

H. Evans

Lea. Mac Nally

Henry Jackson

Oliver Bond

P. S. Subscriptions will be received by the above persons, &c. &c.

The above was published in the National Evening Star twice. Two days after I received the following *sealed* note, rolled up in a piece of soiled paper, sealed with eight guineas enclosed, the full produce of the public subscription. Not being at home when it was left for me, I could not tell from whom it came—but read with astonishment as follows:

My dear Chambers.

The letter which accompanies this, was the letter brought me when I signed my name to what I supposed a subscription, to be handed about. I promised any assistance in my power. It certainly does say a public subscription, by that, however, I did not understand it was to be Gazetted. *Altho' for my own part I do not care a farthing what he does with my signature, so he gets something by it,* yet I am persuaded, that some of those Gentlemen, who put their names to it the other evening, did so without any idea of its being printed, but merely as a pledge for their future assistance.

ance. You were present. You handed it to me, and if you knew the intention of printing it in the public Papers, you should have said so, as you declined putting your own name to it particularly, which delicacy I immediately saw. —To cut short, however, my opinion is, that those Gentlemen's names who did not, or shall not permit them to be published should not be so. Indeed I think the measure at any rate, not likely to produce any thing by those means, as it will be then cast upon the world, and no one will think themselves obliged to countenance it further. I should advise separate copies, being given to different persons who think *Carey has been an active servant of the public cause*, that they may collect as much as they can for him, and I will undertake my share with pleasure; if, however, he persists in publishing it, as I moved the business the other night, I must desire, that all the names, signed at that period, be struck out.

I am yours, very sincerely,

Saturday morning.

A. H. ROWAN.

COMMITTEE ROOM.

Carey,

I send you the paper which was brought here this morning by Mr. Jackson, and left with me to inform you, that H. Evans permits you, as I have described in this letter, to make what use you please of his name also---I send enclosed the *eight subscriptions*, paid as marked.

and wish you success,

Sunday.

A. H. ROWAN.

The above *two* letters were written on *one piece* of paper, being a half sheet of *small letter* post *doubled*. The former occupying the *three* first sides and a part of the *fourth*, the remainder of which was taken up with the latter to me.

I do not intend here to remark on the very *friendly and respectful* style of address in that beginning with—"My dear Chambers"—contrasted with that to me—beginning with the *uncustomary* abruptness of my *Sirname*—"Carey"—Nor will I notice the *extreme indelicacy* of either, or both addressed to *one in my situation*, in so extraordinary a manner. It is equally foreign from my wish to comment on the circumstance of my *private* letter being *unnecessarily exposed* and *handed over to a third person* without any request to him not

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to expose it in a still wider circle, as would appear by the first line to Mr. Chambers. The expressions—"Although for my own part, I do not care a farthing what he does with my signature, so he gets something by it."—With the whole tenor of both, forming so total a deviation from his polite style of answer, when I requested Mr. Rowan to sit to me for his portrait, that I may well be supposed to be wholly at a loss in accounting for the difference. I will venture some remarks upon so extraordinary a circumstance.

It would be doing but little justice to Mr. Rowan, merely to say that he is known to be a gentleman. That appellation is now so indiscriminately assumed by every petty fellow independent of business, and is so commonly bestowed upon vice and folly, as to have lost its distinctive value.—To the name of Rowan I have been accustomed to attach something more estimable than the superficial gloss, and set phrase of artificial politeness. I esteemed him a man fashioned by the hand of nature to grace and aid an honourable cause;—one who, had he been placed behind a counter as a trader or artisan, would have merited the name of *gentleman* in the noblest acceptation of the word, and who in any situation would have been noticed as a person of superior intelligence and humanity. Full of the recollections which first accompanied his introduction to public estimation, I revered him as a character of polished manners, of generous sensibility, of high heroic worth; as one who possessed a just and delicate sense of propriety, not only in what concerns himself, but in what concerns others. I gave to his courage a stamp more exalted than that which signalises the disgraceful duels of the day. It appeared to be something more worthy than that mechanical irritation produced by common place notions of honour acting upon a cold phlegmatic habit. I deemed it equally distant from the rash ebullition of fiery animal spirits: These are merely formal or constitutional effects, rather proceeding from a fear of censure and a want of thought, than from any superior quality of the soul. The courage of Rowan seemed to spring from a nobler cause; to stand upon a more impregnable elevation. I deemed it the *animating principle* of his *mind*, sedate, firm, disinterested; untainted by passion; uninfluenced by prejudice

dice; a calm resolve; the dignified result of reflection; warm only in the cause of virtue—of helpless innocence—of freedom---anxious for the general good.

With such a high opinion of Rowan, it will be readily believed, I could not have suspected that if he addressed a man of business, of a limited independence, with respect and politeness, *to-day*---he would *to-morrow* discard all forms of respect and politeness, in addressing the same person, on no other account but his having fallen into unmerited or accidental difficulties. To have supposed this of Mr. Rowan, would have reduced him in my opinion, to the common level of selfish littleness. It would have induced me to look beyond his actions to his *motives*, and I might with reason suspect him to be impelled by random and irrational eccentricity without plan or connection, save that eagerness of popularity, which if it be often the source of great and virtuous actions, is as frequently found to direct the sinister operations of barren and illiberal *Ostentation*. I could no longer suppose his conduct to flow from *fixed principles* of truth, from a love of justice, or an affection for the common rights of Society, because the needle is not more true to the pole, than the tendency of just and manly principles, to a just and manly conduct:—Not “*a thing of shreds and patches!*”---to-day a brilliant---to-morrow a sordid pebble---this hour shining out a protector of an oppressed and innocent victim; the next leagued with dishonest men for the honourable purpose of oppressing a persecuted and injured individual. No---the man who possesses *fixed principles of justice* will not thus vary from himself. He will be found *uniform* in his actions, and if he happens to be influenced by misrepresentation or by misconception, to take a wrong part against any man, he knows how to retrieve himself; he contemns the feeble censures of prejudice; he does not wait to be called on for an apology; he comes forward with the generous spirit of a man; and he cries out ---“My friend I have done you injury, I *should have despised you, had you not resented it.* Forgive me---I am ready to do you justice.”

I am willing to attribute Mr. Rowan's conduct to me in every particular, *to the influence of others*. I know not how else to account for the palpable difference between the
style

file of his letter from Rathcoffey already sent, and that conjointly addressed to Mr. Chambers and to me—which was written on a piece of paper that had not been sealed nor folded, but was enclosed in a cover, and so wanted to me by some other person, as the direction was in a different handwriting from Mr. Rowan's.

It is certain that the circumstances in which I latterly stood with respect to Mr. Rowan, were *materially changed* from those in which I was when he wrote so politely to me from Rathcoffey. I was then an *unemployed man*. On the contrary, I had *since that* stepped into the political field, skirmishing in the van of the battle, as (to repeat from Mr. Rowan's note) *an active servant of the public cause*; in doing so I had involved myself in difficulties; I had incurred prosecutions; and I had finally lost my establishment by a Society, of which Mr. Rowan is a leading member. But these are circumstances which, if Mr. Rowan had not *previously* known me as an advocate in the cause of the oppressed, and a well-meaning member of the Community, ought alone to have rendered me an object of additional attention and politeness from that gentleman, and from every real friend to the public cause.

Other circumstances existed latterly to entitle me, if not to Mr. Rowan's exertions in my favour, at least to the exercise of that polite attention, which he formerly deemed due to me. I shall mention such as that gentleman must have been acquainted with when he wrote that note, which by a novel kind of *partnership*, was made to belong to two persons *no way connected*, and which, of course ought, if it had any superscription, to have been directed to "Messrs. Chambers and Carey."—I was THEN Mr. Rowan's fellow-soldier in the *Independent Dublin Volunteers*. I had been so nearly 12 months. I am STILL Mr. Rowan's fellow-soldier in that Corps, unless to come off with honour in this affair, certain of my opponents may declare that the *Volunteers of Ireland* who are now only under SUSPENSION, are no longer in existence.—I was also then Mr. Rowan's companion in arms, in the *First National Battalion*, and his colleague in the Committee of that Corps, in which I first opposed and finally procured the abolition of the mischievous button

button and cockade, which afforded so complete a pretext to the enemies of our glorious Volunteer Institution, to procure its SUSPENSION. I was also then, Mr. Rowan's *associate* in the Society of United Irishmen, in which Society Mr. ROWAN was the person who first *proposed me to be received as a Member*, and Mr. JAMES NAPPER TANDY *seconded the introduction of my name*. Neither of which Gentlemen would have done so, had they not known and *esteemed me a man of principle and practice, every way fit and worthy to be their companion and associate* in that Society. After my introduction into that Society, it had *unanimously* declared me in one instance *worthy of a public support under prosecution*; it had in another instance *unanimously* declared me *deserving of its public thanks*; which were returned to me *in full meeting* by the Hon. Simon Butler, as *Chairman of the Committee of Constitution*. It also at the same time, declared that my conduct entitled me, as Proprietor of a public paper, *to the encouragement of every Member of the Society*. Finally, I was at the moment I received that *extraordinary note*, and had been for some time before surrounded, or rather overwhelmed by difficulties. A search was making after my person, by order of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords; a warrant from Lord Clonmel was in the hands of Mr. Carleton, to apprehend me for publishing the Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers. A *Capias* was also out against me through neglect of the same Society. My affairs were unsettled, and every person who looked for a settlement was coming forward to snatch from under me the little plank upon which I struggled to float after my shipwreck. In this melancholy situation, not an individual, public or private, of any description or connection, came forward in my behalf, except *to reproach me with the folly of having placed any reliance on the men who had involved me*.—Without a single resource in the complete abandonment which I experienced on every side, I was disabled from personal exertion, by being forced to confine and conceal myself from the *frigid condolence of nominal friends* and the active pursuit of political enemies. Any of these circumstances singly, and altogether more forcibly, we
might

might reasonably suppose, would have formed strong additional claims upon that *polite attention which Mr. Rowan deemed, some time before my difficulties, due to me.*

I again declare, it is my opinion that Mr. Rowan did *not in this or any part of the business relative to me, act wholly from himself.* I think so because I am unwilling to lose sight of the first impression which Mr. Rowan's honourable conduct in the case of Mary Neal, made on me. It is more liberal to recur to that impression of his character, than to be biased by the unhandsome proceedings relative to me, into which he has been by some unaccountable means, I hope *unintentionally*, drawn.

It appears Mr. Rowan was applied to in the *morning*; he *then cheerfully* gave his signature; promised his co-operation, and expressed his full approbation of the propriety of my conduct and principles. He did *not then* make any objection whatever to publishing his name to the plan of subscriptions, although, as his note admits, he certainly saw the purpose of a *public subscription* fully expressed to him. He even mentioned that he had been written to on the subject of coming forward in my support, by a Dr. Kennedy, a Gentleman with whom I have not had the pleasure of ever being in company, and with whom I am wholly unacquainted.

About 3 o'clock the same day that Mr. Rowan promised his co-operation, the *Honourable Simon Butler* was applied to on the same subject. My friends were of opinion that Mr. Simon Butler, as one of the *Lawyers* of the Society of United Irishmen, who had sanctioned the publication of the Address of that Society to the Volunteers as a *legal publication*, would have felt additionally solicitous in the fate of a Printer whom he had contributed to involve in danger. Mr. Simon Butler on this occasion, took the matter into consideration as *a point of law*. He made some learned remarks on prosecution, and concluded with declaring that as a *Lawyer*, he *must decline interfering in the business*. He was however, pleased to express his approbation as a United Irishman, of my public conduct and principles so strongly, as to declare, that---“*They* (whether he meant the United Irishmen or the popular party, out of that Society, I know not)

not) ought not only to free me from my embarrassments, but to make up a handsome something to put me *above the world.*" When these expressions were reported to me, I took a meaning out of them at which I could not forbear a *smile*. Probably the Honourable Gentleman at this moment is not without some wishes that the full extent of his equivocal expression with respect to me, was *completely verified*,

A reasonable supposition was also entertained, that Dr. Drennan would, *without waiting for any application to him, have come forward in my behalf.* As that gentleman is the reputed Author of the *Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers*, for publishing which Address I was then subject to a prosecution, and a warrant was out for my apprehension. Surgeon Wright informed me that he had applied to Dr. Drennan on the propriety and absolute necessity of his exerting himself to support me as a person in whose difficulties he ought to have an additional concern *above any other man.*

Dr. Drennan, however, declined interfering in the business, alledging that he had an objection to making his name too particular under the eye of Government: On this objection I shall make no other remark than that *if it was sincere*, it must be acknowledged to be utterly inconsistent with the appearance of his name to many publications of the Society, both before and since that time.

A singular fact worthy the attention of the Public, tends to confirm an opinion that Mr. Rowan's *first intention* with respect to exerting himself in the Public Subscription, *was set aside by the influence of some other person or persons.* The names of two persons, both Members of the Society of United Irishmen were printed at the bottom of the plan of the subscription, as persons authorised to receive subscriptions. Of these, one person signed his name with more professions of friendly zeal in my cause, than could be expected from him. Yet *on the same day on which I received Mr. Rowan's extraordinary note*, he applied in a very altered *style of expression*, to withdraw his name from the plan of the subscription, without *assigning any reason* whatever for so unaccountable a conduct.

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From this circumstance, and from the conduct of the *Hon. Simon Butler, Dr. Drennan, and Counsellor Mac* on the night of the motion for exonerating Surgeon Wright and Mr. Mathews, my bail, I again declare that I think Mr. Rowan did *not* act WHOLLY *from himself* in any of the *unlandsome proceedings against me*.

At the time the plan of a public subscription was in agitation, Counsellor Mac happened to pass by my lodgings. I sent after him wishing to employ him in the case of the information moved against me at the suit of a new-made Earl, already spoken of in this work. After mentioning my being unable to stir abroad on account of the warrant out against me for publishing the address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers, I begged Mr. Mac to see into what was requisite to be done by me in case of the information just mentioned. I gave him *two guineas* and he promised to let me know what steps were necessary to be done and to write to me or to call upon me for that purpose in due time. I also told him I had received information that a *Capias* was out against me, through a *violation* of the United Irishmen's engagement to support me in the prosecution for publishing the Belfast Rejoicings out of the Northern Star. He seemed to make light of this; as he told me the proceedings to outlawry could be reversed at any time before its *final completion*. Mr. Mac then expressed the strongest concern for my situation and promised to exert his influence in the Society to further the public subscription, declaring that it was the duty of the Society of United Irishmen, and of the Catholics to support me as a Printer, who had so zealously devoted himself to the interests of the people. He begged leave to have the honour of signing his name to the plan of the subscription with the other gentlemen whose names appeared to it. I understand the nobleman alluded to, has since dropped the prosecution against me *for obvious reasons*. Although it appears that no steps whatever were taken in my defence, nor did I ever hear a word more of the business from Counsellor Mac. I have stated the above trifling circumstance, as it was, with that which I have already mentioned in which he offered his services to co-operate with Counsellor Whitestone and Mr. Arthur Meredyth Whyte, the *only business on my own account in which I ever had any thing*

thing to do with Mr. M. —The weakness of that Gentleman's memory leading him sometimes into small misrepresentations of past occurrences, the reader will discover my reason for this exactness.

When I considered the *matter* of Mr. Rowan's extraordinary note, and the *manner* in which it came to hand, with the despicable sum coming from a popular leader, and from a public party as a public subscription to a man whose ruin that Body had wrought, my eyes opened at once to the irretrievable situation in which the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen had plunged me. A sense that I had merited a different treatment,—A spirit tenacious in misfortune, and which gloried in the cause of my adversity,—with a due contempt for the party by which I had been so ill treated, supported me in so trying a situation. In the first hurry of my thoughts I determined to write to Mr. Rowan, and to return the PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION to him. But the opinion of my friends decided otherwise. It was urged to me that the want of delicacy in any other person, was *no fault of mine*—that my situation ought to prevent me from reproaching him with that want. It was observed that although it would have reflected more honour on Mr. Rowan and his friends, to have made up some thing like an handsome compensation for me—and to have presented it to me in a manner worthy of them, with some expressions of their approbation of my conduct—yet still if Mr. Rowan chose to serve me in his own way I should smother my sense of the *manner* in which it was done. Beside it might happen that Mr. Rowan would chose to mortify me for a month together, by such affronts of eight guineas daily, which it might not be so prudent in me to prevent. It was also remarked that I had got my hand into the Lion's mouth, and ought to draw it out as softly as possible; if I did any thing then to give a handle to abandon me, it would be seized on with avidity by certain leading men, who only had associated to derive consequence to themselves from leading or misleading a popular body. Such men would gladly avail themselves of an opportunity to depreciate me, which they were ready to do, but could not at that time openly attempt, as my conduct had been too publicly witnessed by the nation, and was too recent to admit of misrepresentation

representation *then*. I saw the truth of those observations, and already perceived that the men who have since combined against me in the Society of United Irishmen, were then inclined to shut me out from public notice, and to hurry me into *oblivion*, there to leave me to struggle with my fate. They appeared less solicitous to disguise their abandonment of me as they deemed my pen, being chained down by my difficulties, no longer a self defence; and my Press being overthrown by their machinations, no longer a vehicle for their vanity to ride in. My friends being of opinion that I ought from these considerations to comply with Mr. Rowan's request of stopping the plan of the Public Subscription, and to accede to that which he had proposed of leaving it to *him* and some other leading members of the Society, to exert themselves in private. I agreed to this, and as there was an account due to me for printing and advertising by Mr. Rowan, I gave him credit for eight guineas and then wrote to Mr. Rowan, signifying in the most respectful terms my intention of following his directions. Accordingly the plan of the Public Subscription was withdrawn from the *National Evening Star*, and the intention of inserting it in the other papers was dropped, and thus ended the *first ACT* of the *Farce* of "THE PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION." A business which was every where magnified in those circles where the FREEDOM OF THE PRESS was *toasted*. In the public prints and private companies, it was spoken of as a *small* compliment of 500l.—500l. of which was said to be the *patriotic* subscription of Mr. *Archibald Hamilton Rowan*, and the remainder the gift of the Society of United Irishmen as a compensation for the difficulties in which it had involved me.

Before I quit the FIRST ACT of the FARCE OF THE PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION, I beg of the reader to collect from Mr. ROWAN's *own words*, Mr. ROWAN's *opinion* of me. In his first note he speaks of me as a WRITER of *superior ability*, since on an occasion of *much public discussion*, which employed many pens, he gives my *hasty publication* a DECIDED SUPERIORITY. In his letter from *Rathcoffy* these expressions occur—applied to my letter—The MANLY and PATRIOTIC SENTIMENTS

TIMENTS which *IT breathes, demand my personal acknowledgements*"---these prove that at a distance of more than two years, Mr. ROWAN still retained *the same respectable opinion of my principles and ability.*

In his note *extraordinary* he speaks of me at a further distance of more than two years, as "AN ACTIVE SERVANT OF THE PUBLIC CAUSE."---Thus it is undeniable from Mr. Rowan's own words, that he esteemed me an individual of MANLY AND PATRIOTIC SENTIMENTS, and of SUPERIOR LITERARY ABILITY, who had both as a *Printer and Writer* been distinguished as an ACTIVE SERVANT OF THE PUBLIC CAUSE. Yet after all this, his favourable opinion of me, by some *unaccountable inconsistency*, Mr. Rowan exerted his influence no further than to discredit himself and give me some unpleasant reflections by laying me under the name of an obligation for a BEGGARLY PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION of EIGHT GUINEAS!! after which he was persuaded to abandon me to all the evils of PUBLIC PROSECUTION and PRIVATE DIFFICULTIES, *brought on me by a public body, of which he is a leading member*, and by that *very ability and patriotism* which he was pleased to suppose me possessed of and to commend. Good God! is it possible that a man of Mr. Rowan's liberal understanding, imagined me possessed of some ability and sincerity of intention, yet knew not that these qualities were worthy of a different treatment?

It may be judged, had I been *merely a Printer*, what a deplorable situation I must have felt myself in after this, 'The only resource I could have had would have been to have fought for employment as a journeyman. But even from this resource I was cut off, as Lord Clonmel's warrant was out against me for publishing the Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers, and a search was making after me as already stated. I of course must have sunk into that truly pitiable state---a precarious and mortifying dependence on men destitute of honour, honesty, and generous feeling: on men who had ever deemed that I stood *too full in the Public View*, for that space which *they wished themselves to occupy, upon the ground of Popularity.* When I say that my dependence must have been on those who had

wrought my ruin, and who afterwards combined to villify me, such a situation can better be guessed at than pictured.

Fortunately for me, I possessed that which neither the persecution of enemies, nor the abandonment of friends, could deprive me of. Resources in myself, which maintained my independence, and lifted me above that level of humiliation to which the Leaders of the United Irishmen, already sought to reduce me. The Pencil, the Graver still remained to me. My natural attachment to these charming arts, was carried to a degree of enthusiasm. Yet I was ever by some means or other, prevented from studying either of them sufficiently close, and have never received satisfaction from any of my own performances. The facility of literary composition, tempted me away from the slower mechanical process, to which the Painter and Engraver are forced to submit before they can give birth to a single idea.

Nature may justly be said to make a Poet. She gives him suitable language to his conceptions. It is not so with the Painter. His pencil cannot *speak* nor give *form* to his conceptions, unless long practice renders him skilful and correct in the just delineation of external appearances: gives him an acquaintance with the bold and mutable expression of the passions, and with the fleeting forms of grace, loveliness and sublimity. These reasons operated to make me continually prefer the *Pen*, which with the *pencil* and *graver* in the hour of my difficulties, were my *only* resources. These under every disadvantage rendered me buoyant on the stream of adversity where others less fortunate would have sunk for ever. While the clouds thickened round me, the circle of my *nominal* friends rapidly narrowed. United Irishmen—Coffee-House Politicians, and Toasters of the Freedom of the Press, fell off by dozens; reminding me of a passage from a Poem which I wrote and published on a slight acquaintance with the world, some years since:

“ But when across the changing sky,
The clouds of adverse fortune fly;
When o’er the prostrate victim’s head,
The deep’ning shades of sorrow spread.
Then *Folly* in his fall, looks *wife*,
And Slander from her covert flies,

While

While Envy, seeming to defend,
 Is griev'd to own "*She was his friend*"—
 Low Pride and fickle flattery run,
 To hail some other *rising Sun*;
 In vain the voice of Nature cries,
 Then sunder'd are the kindred ties;
 The crowd the ruin'd man disown,
 And leave him to despair alone."——

I was not a little consoled by the visits and unremitting attention of the great and good man Mr. William Todd Jones, the *first Protestant Senator* who brought forward the question of Catholic Emancipation. I had early acquired his friendship by my public conduct. It ever remained unshaken, and he expressed the kindest solicitude for my fate. This man,—truly public spirited, since *by opposing its strongest prejudices*, he hazarded the loss of his influence in that part of the country where he was born, and in which he was revered.---This man,—truly worthy of the sacred character of a Patriot, since he preferred the vindication of unpopular truths, to the temporising expedients which he saw practiced round him.---This man,—the powerful and successful advocate of a great national cause;---the political precursor of a people's freedom, rather born to lead than to follow public opinions, this man I justly pride in calling my friend. He early warned me of the very *snare* into which I fell. Of him we may with justice say,

"This is the noblest Roman of them all,

For what he did was for the *general good*."——

His mind and manners are to be seen in his writings. Correct, animated, and polished.—Easy, yet vigorous; zealous and elevated, yet simple and perspicuous; pathetic without artifice; and reprehensive, yet courtly and persuasive; he possesses the rare art at once to conciliate and convince. It is his happy talent rather to express lofty thoughts in familiar and elegant language, than to inflate a puny cast of thinking by a laboured and pompous expression.

Nor was I forgotten by the good old man, Mr. Mathews, by whom I was almost daily visited. The friendly anxiety which he seemed to feel for my situation,
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and the assiduous services which he sought to render me, by applying to different persons in order to have my affairs settled, entitle him to the first place in my esteem and affection.

The fears which he had long entertained of my terminating my career in a prison, were considerably augmented by his knowledge of the *CAPIAS* which was out against me, as already stated, in consequence of the neglect of the Lawyers of the Committee of Constitution in the case of the prosecution against me for the publication of the *Belfast Rejoicings* in the *National Evening Star*, November 3d, 1792, which was copied from the *Northern Star*. To this was added the difficulty of settling my affairs, and Lord Clonmel's warrant out against me for publishing the Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers. The sensible concern which Mr. Mathews felt from a consideration of these impending dangers, induced him to call on me with the particular design of urging the absolute necessity of my quitting Ireland. To induce me to do so, he dwelt upon the inextricable difficulties which must surround me if once I should fall into the power of my enemies.

I so fully acceded to the propriety of his reasoning, that I reluctantly determined to quit the kingdom, but not before I had first stated my situation to the Society of United Irishmen, to which I principally owed my ruin. On Friday, 22d of March, 1792, I accordingly gave notice in the meeting of the Society, that I would at the ensuing meeting, on that day week, state to the Society the situation in which I stood, to submit to its judgment the proper steps to be taken in such a crisis.

On the 29th of March, at the ensuing meeting of the Society, Dr. Drennan being President, and Mr. Matthew Dowling Secretary, previous to my stating my situation—Mr. Chambers rose, and having justly expatiated on the merits of Mr. James Napper Tandy, as a public spirited citizen, and an active member of that Society, proceeded to urge that the unhappy state of proscription into which he had just then fallen, deserved the immediate attention of the Society, and he concluded by moving that he should be legally and constitutionally supported by the Society.

I rose

I rose when Mr. Chambers sat down, and after observing on the very great propriety of Mr. Chambers's motion, and paying every due compliment to the merits of Mr. Tandy as a well meaning citizen, I begged leave to submit to Mr. Chambers's good sense, whether the *honour and impartial character* of the Society was not more immediately called on, to take into *prior* consideration the dilemma in which I stood. As it must be allowed, my claim to *prior consideration* was founded upon the unanswerable ground of my PROSCRIPTION having commenced PRIOR to that of Mr. Tandy. An opposition took place, and after some debate, although it was *not denied* that my *proscription* had taken place *some months* PRIOR to that of Mr. Tandy, and that I stood committed for the immediate *act* of the Society, yet a motion "to refer the case of Mr. JAMES NAPPER TANDY to the consideration of the Committee of Constitution"—was put and carried. It is necessary to mention that this occurred about a fortnight after Mr. Tandy had declined standing his trial at Dundalk. In this the *customary precedence of names* was observed contrary to justice and reason as in the other proceedings of the Society.

In reply to some remarks which had fallen from a member during the opposition—I fully stated the circumstance of the support *decreed* to me by the Society in the case of the prosecution for the publication of the Belfast Rejoicings from the Northern Star, and mentioned the information which I had received, that a CAPIAS was out against me, as I understood, *by neglect of the Society's solemn engagement in that instance*.—I added that I had the opinion of *Counsel*, that from the temper of the times, and the nature of the Address to the Volunteers, for which a warrant was out against me, that there was every probability of a sentence of heavy *fine* and *imprisonment*, for publishing it; and having accurately detailed how injurious that publication had proved to me, I submitted to the consideration of the Society the propriety of what measures it ought to adopt for me, as one of its members whom it had involved in such a dilemma.—On this Mr. LEWENS moved, that the situation in which I stood, and the propriety of what measures ought to be adopted in my case,

case, should be referred to the COMMITTEE OF CONSTITUTION, and that they should report thereon at the next meeting of the Society. This motion was immediately seconded by Mr. Mathews, and passed unanimously.

It is here to be remembered that on Friday the 22nd of March, I had given notice of my intention to attend and state my situation to the Society at the next meeting, being the night of which I now speak. After the business of the night of the 29th was over, I was coming out from the Society *at the breaking up of the meeting* in the midst of the other members, and the moment I crossed the threshold of the outside gate of the entrance to the Taylor's Hall, the place of the Society's meeting, I was apprehended by Mr. Carleton, an officer of the Police, and his assistants. This occurrence happened *in the presence of the members coming out from the meeting along with me.* Numbers of them followed me along Back-lane and up Nicholas-street into Skinner-row, in which latter place we overtook Doctor Drennan, the *reputed author* of the Address to the Volunteers, for publishing which, Mr. Carleton held me in custody at that moment I called out to Dr. Drennan by name, and told him I was under arrest. He walked after me down to the Police house, with several other *United Irishmen*. He there requested of Mr. Carleton to permit him to read the warrant on which he had arrested me. Mr. Carleton complied, and Dr. Drennan took the warrant in his hands and read that the cause of my arrest was for printing and publishing a *seditious libel* in the *National Evening Star*, on the 18th day of December, 1792—After reading the warrant, I observed to Dr. Drennan that the 18th day of December, 1792, as noted in the warrant, was the day in which I first inserted the Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers of Ireland, and that the warrant was dated the 21st Dec. *two days after that publication.* After this, Mr. Carleton as if wishing to dismiss the crowd, began with asking those who came in with me one after the other, whether they chose to become bail for my appearance to stand my trial for the offence with which I stood charged. *On this, Dr. Drennan, the reputed author of the matter for which I stood committed, withdrew,* as did a number of other members of the Society. I stood for some time in an unpleasant dilemma. The
lateness

lateness of the hour rendering it an improper time to call on any friend. From this I was relieved by *Surgeon Wright*, as already mentioned, a member of the United Irishmen, who came in and proffered cheerfully to be one of my sureties. *Mr. Mathews* came in shortly after, and as cheerfully offered himself to be the other surety required by the law. I proceeded in the custody of *Mr. Carleton* and his assistants, accompanied by *Surgeon Wright*, *Mr. Mathews*, and a *Dr. Walsh*, a member of the Society of United Irishmen, to *Lord Connel's*. If any other members of the Society attended, it is more than I now recollect. His Lordship refused to take bail on account of the late hour. I was then brought to *Anne's Police-House*, where I was detained in custody of a Police Serjeant during the remainder of the night. The next morning I gave bail before *Lord Connel*, being bound myself in the sum of two hundred pounds, and *Mr. Mathews* and *Surgeon Wright* in the sum of one hundred pounds each, for my appearing to take my trial for the publication of the Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers.

Two days after my arrest I wrote an official information of the transaction to the *Honourable Simon Butler*, as Chairman of the Committee of Constitution, to whose consideration my case had been referred. The circumstance of my arrest and its cause appeared in the different newspapers in town and country, and from the number of persons present when it happened, became every where a matter of public notoriety.

At this time I received notice that the person to whom I had sold the Newspaper and its property, was on the point of flying to America. I had not received cash for any of his notes which I had taken in payment, being determined to appropriate the whole sum to a settlement with the persons to whom I was under engagements. Previous to coming on treaty with me for the Newspaper, he was on the eve of a bankruptcy, with which I was unfortunately unacquainted, although he had advertised his stock in trade for sale, as retiring from business. The fear of alarming his numerous creditors presented an obstacle to his removing any of his property from the place of his residence. This obstacle, however, was done away when

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his name appeared as Proprietor of the National Evening Star. His creditors were satisfied, deeming that he was only quitting the house in which he lived, to carry on the Newspaper in that in which I had resided, and which he took on my giving up the paper to him. He did *not*, however, move his property to the house in Exchange-Court in which I had carried on the paper—but to *private* rooms in *Dame-Court*, from whence, without giving any alarm, it could be transported wherever he pleased. Some time after he had the goods packed up in boxes and secretly sent off to Newry and Belfast, from thence to be shipped for America. All this time the Newspaper served as a screen between him and his creditors until he should be ready to follow the goods to the North himself, which he did a day or two after my arrest for publishing the Address to the Volunteers. I, however, after tracing him to Belfast, and returning to Newry, came up with him at Warren's Point on the eve before his intended departure. He there offered to deliver up to me books and other property to the full amount of what he owed me, if I would permit him to go off. *The wish which I had to prevent Mr. Mathews from losing by his flight, induced me to refuse.* Mr. Mathews had bailed this unfortunate man when arrested for *publishing the Address of the Society of United Irishmen* to the Volunteers. My wish to serve this worthy man, however, proved *fatally injurious to me, and of no service to him.* I succeeded in bringing back to Dublin with me the object of my pursuit; but the law did not permit Mr. Mathews to detain him in prison. He was declared a Bankrupt; went through his three examinations before the Commissioners; but in consequence of secreting a part of his property, and being sworn against by the Assignees on that account, he has fled, *and never received a sixpence from that day to this.*

On Friday the 5th of April, the Secretary, Mr. M. Dowling being absent, and having with him the papers of the preceding night's proceedings, which he had not entered upon the Society's Journal, a Secretary pro tempore, acted for the evening, and no report was made from the Committee of Constitution on the case of James Napper Tandy; nor was there any report from the said Committee on the case of W. P. Carey.

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On Friday the 12th of April, being the next meeting, Mr. M. Dowling attended as Secretary, and declared that the Committee of Constitution was not prepared to report on the case of Mr. James Napper Tandy. He also declared that it was not prepared to report on the case of W. P. Carey, and that its report on both cases must be postponed.

On Friday the 19th of April being the next ensuing meeting Mr. MATTHEW DOWLING, the *secretary*, rose and reported from the committee of constitution, "that the committee was of opinion that the proscription of James Napper Tandy, was owing to his zealous attachment to the public cause, which the Society of United Irishmen was pledged to support—it therefore became a part of the Society's duty legally and constitutionally to support James Napper Tandy, under the persecution raised against him"—On this report the question being put by the President—it passed unanimously. Mr. MATTHEW DOWLING then again rose, and having first stated that Wm. Paulet Carey had been arrested for publishing the Address of the Society to the Volunteers, on the night of the 29th of March—he proceeded to report from the committee of constitution—"That it was of opinion, the same reasoning which applied to the cases of Messrs. Rowan and Tandy, and Messrs. M'Donnel and M'Allister, the Printers arrested for distributing and publishing the Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers, also applied to the case of Wm. Paulet Carey, arrested in like manner, for publishing in the National Evening Star, of the 18th December, 1792, the said Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers."—The President put the question on this report, and it passed unanimously—

On the first day of the next Term, after I had been arrested, I called on Mr. Mathews, as one of my bail to attend him into court to stand my trial. Mr. Mathews was unwell, and in bed. He begged me to call to Mr. M. Dowling, as the SOCIETY'S AGENT to know what was requisite to be done. I accordingly went to Mr. Dowling's house in Longford-street *that morning*. I saw there, as well as I can now recollect, Mr. Dowling's brother, and if I mistake not, a respectable citizen, a relation of Mr. Dowling. I

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waited some time, and at last saw Mr. Dowling himself. I requested to know in what manner Mr. Mathews and I were to conduct ourselves relative to my surrendering that day to take my trial. Mr. Dowling informed me that the three first days of Term were employed in Routine business, but that he would have some notice when my trial would come on; and requesting to know where to send to me, I directed to Mr. Mathews, who was equally interested with myself in the business. On my return to Mr. Mathews, I mentioned this answer of Mr. Dowling's and begged of him, as I could not appear abroad with safety, to call himself on Mr. Dowling if he did not hear from him in a day or two. Mr. Mathews promised to do so, and also to call on me to let me know when he was to accompany me to Court to stand my trial. When Mr. Mathews called on me, he told me, as well as I can recollect now, that he had seen Mr. Dowling, or Counsellor Mac Nally, or both of them in Court, and that either or both had told him not to be uneasy, as he would have due notice for my appearance to take my trial.

April 28th, being Sunday, Mr. Mathews accompanied me to Counsellor Emmet's house at Stephen's-green. The purport of our visit being to apply to that gentleman as a United Irishman, and one of the Committee of Constitution, on my situation with respect to my two sureties, Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright, as I had fears that the penalty might be forfeited through our not knowing when to appear in court. I also wished to know whether the committee of constitution could not procure me by a motion in court, a protection from further arrest, while going to, and coming from my trial, and I was desirous to inform that gentleman of the circumstance already mentioned, which I was acquainted with by several persons, that a WRIT of *Capias* being the first stage in the Process of *Outlawry*—was at that time out against me, through the Lawyers of the Society neglecting to fulfil its solemn engagement legally and constitutionally, to support me, in case of the prosecution against me for the publication in the *National Evening Star*, November 3d, 1792, of the Belfast Rejoicings, on account of the defeat of the Duke of Brunswick. We were informed that Counsellor Emmet was not within, and of course

course we were disappointed in our intention of consulting him.

On the 5th of May, the ensuing Sunday, I called on Mr. Mathews to accompany me to Counsellor Emmet, on the purpose already mentioned. Mr. Mathews not being within—I called by myself to Mr. Emmet's, and saw that gentleman. I consulted him on the point already stated—He informed me that a motion, grounded on an affidavit, could be made in court to obtain me protection, going to and coming from my trial, and that he would enquire into it—also that he would enquire into the circumstance of the CAPIAS out against me, and with respect to my appearing in court with my two sureties, he was of opinion, that other persons being first to be tried on similar charges, I would have timely notice, by their being called on to take their trials. —I am not certain that I did not write on the business in question to Counsellor Emmet, previous to the 5th of May. My reason for calling on that gentleman was, that I esteemed him to be a man of integrity and honour; one who had the character of the Society of United Irishmen too much at heart to permit any violation of its solemn engagement in favour of one or any of its members—I was of opinion that if by any neglect, such violation had occurred, he would be the most zealous to institute an enquiry into it, and to induce an immediate reparation. This also was Mr. Mathews's opinion of Mr. Emmet. It is my opinion still, but I lament that Counsellor Emmet has been deceived, at least I am willing to think so. If this was not the case, I am of opinion he has too much good sense not to discern, that *after I had once asserted "the Society had violated its engagement in my favour"—an open enquiry in the face of the Society ought immediately to have been moved—Whether said charge was justly founded or not?* This would have been the just mode to proceed. Had the charge been proved well-founded; justice must have taken place in my favour. Had it proved unfounded, I must have been condemned, and the Lawyers of the Society must have been acquitted. On the contrary, it will be found that the Lawyers who stood charged with being the cause of the violation of the Society's engagement, were the very persons who opposed any enquiry into the business.

On the ——— of May, 1793, almost FIVE MONTHS after CAPIAS had been issued against me, it appears a WRIT of ALIAS, a *second stage* in the *Process of Outlawry*, was issued out against me, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN'S SOLEMN ENGAGEMENT, LEGALLY AND CONSTITUTIONALLY TO SUPPORT ME under THE PROSECUTION AGAINST ME, for PUBLISHING in the NATIONAL EVENING STAR, of November 3d, 1792, an account of the BELFAST REJOICINGS *for the retreat* of the DUKE of BRUNSWICK, copied from the *Northern Star*, being further continued to be TOTALLY NEGLECTED by the LAWYERS of the COMMITTEE OF CONSTITUTION.

About this time I might be said to be in a situation dangerous enough to make any man fly from his sureties and country for the preservation of himself and family. By the failure of the person to whom I had sold the Paper, I was deprived of every means of settling with those to whom I stood engaged. I saw PROCESS of OUTLAWRY *deliberately* proceeding against me, in consequence of the violated engagement of the public body which had been the immediate cause of my ruin; and the opinion of every person was, that heavy fine, imprisonment, or perhaps transportation would be the sentence which I must meet for publishing the Address of that Public Body to the Volunteers. I however did *not* fly—I still had some reliance on the honesty and spirit of *the men of business* in the Society of United Irishmen. I saw enough to make me suspect the *honesty* of some of *its Leaders*—but still I hoped the general sense of the body would vindicate its own character, and do me justice. Above all, I thought of the two worthy men who were my sureties, and *every alarm for myself was forgotten*. I made it a point to see Mr. Mathews once or twice a week, to shew that I was ready to attend him to Court when he might think proper. This was necessary, as I had taken a place in Glasnevin, which was too far from town for the good old man to call to see me. In this pleasant village under the name of *Mr. Brown*, which I had taken to elude enquiry---with the sentence of a court hanging over me---a warrant out against me---and the prospect of a prison

a prison before me, utterly abandoned by the party which had hurried me to ruin, I passed a summer of anxiety without hope, and of difficulties, without a single friendly resource, but what arose from my own exertions.

At this time the newspapers made mention of a motion being made, or intended to be made in Court to exonerate the bail of Mr. ROWAN, in the case of his arrest, on a charge for distributing the *Printed Handbills*, said to contain a *sedition libel*, and averred in a resolution of the Society of United Irishmen of the 23rd December, 1792, to be the Address of that Society to the Volunteers. I do not know what was the issue of that motion, but it gave me at that time, a hope of procuring the exoneration of my two friends, Mr. MATHEWS and SURGEON WRIGHT, after which I saw no other mode of escaping, but that of flying with my family out of the kingdom.

Accordingly on the 1st of June, 1793, I called on Mr. Mathews, who accompanied me to the house of Counsellor SHEARES in Baggot-street. On our first requesting to see him---we were desired to call in an hour---We called twice again, and the third time saw the two Counsellor Sheares's. I then *in the presence of Mr. Mathews*, explained my situation to these gentlemen, as *members of the Society of United Irishmen and Lawyers, either on, or connected with, and capable of influencing the COMMITTEE OF CONSTITUTION.* I informed them of a WRIT of CAPIAS having been issued against me---on account of the Society of United Irishmen's solemn engagement, legally and constitutionally, to support me under the prosecution, for publishing in the *National Evening Star*, of Nov. 3, an account of the Belfast rejoicings for the retreat of the *Duke of Brunswick*, being utterly neglected by the committee of constitution. I proceeded to inform them that a WRIT of ALIAS, the SECOND stage in the PROCESS of OUTLAWRY, had been issued, and was then out against me---I stated the circumstance of my publishing in the *National Evening Star*, of the 18th of Dec. 1792, The Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers---and the consequent loss of my establishment, with the failure of the person to whom I had sold the newspaper, which produced my total incapacity of settling with the persons to whom I was under engagements---and then
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going into the purport of my visit, I earnestly entreated of these gentlemen to exert their influence with the Lawyers of the committee of constitution, to have a motion made in court to exonerate Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright, the two persons who had bailed me when arrested; for publishing the Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers---and if that could not be done, I as earnestly entreated that they would make immediate enquiry into the violation of the Society's engagement to support me under the prosecution for the publication of the Belfast rejoicings.

In reply to what I had stated, Counsellor SHEARES, SENR. declared, that the ill-treatment which I had received from the Society of United Irishmen, was a *stain* of the BLACKEST DIE upon its character, and that if he had received such base and unmerited ill usage from it, he would not hesitate a moment to drag the Society of United Irishmen before the Public, and that he would give it up to the infamy which it deserved, by publishing its want of honesty to the nation. He appeared to speak with a strong degree of feeling and a sense of indignation, excited against those who had involved and abandoned me, and he promised to exert himself in the Society at the next meeting---and to use his influence with the Lawyers of the Committee of Constitution to induce immediate enquiry into the cause of the neglect or violation of the Society's engagement to support me under the prosecution for the article from the Northern Star, as he feared that the motion to exonerate my bail, either was informal, or would be unsuccessful, on account of the *alias* against me which I mentioned. COUNSELLOR SHEARES JUNIOR, agreed in all the sentiments of his brother, seeming to feel still more warmly my ill-treatment. He promised to exert himself to enquire whether or not a motion could be made in due course to exonerate my two sureties in the case of my arrest for the ADDRESS to the VOLUNTEERS. He also promised that he would himself at the next meeting of the Society be the mover of an enquiry into the violation of the solemn engagement of the Society to support me under the prosecution for the account of the Belfast Rejoicings from the Northern Star. And he concluded with a promise to call at 12 o'clock in two days after at Mr. Mathews's house, to inform him of the issue of his enquiry

quiry relative to the formality or informality of the motion which we wished to have made in Court for the exoneration of my two sureties. Mr. Mathews left his Address for that purpose with Mr. Sheares.

On coming away, *Mr. Mathews* congratulated me on the zeal and spirit with which these two gentlemen entered into my business. I also felt high satisfaction from their zealous manner and the matter which fell from them. I am still of opinion these gentlemen sincerely meant to serve me, and that they felt a conviction that I had been most hardly treated. If they have since joined the *coalition* against me, I am willing to think they were first deceived by the real authors of my ill-treatment—and that they afterwards had not courage to recede from their error, but chose rather to persist in treading down a man whom they deemed already subdued by the misfortunes which surrounded him.

On the day appointed by Mr. Sheares, junr. Mr. Mathews staid within from particular business to receive his visit, but the hour appointed passed away, and Mr. Sheares did not come, nor did he come that day, nor the next day, nor after. I called on Mr. Mathews, and learned this circumstance, which was an additional disappointment to us both from our mutual opinion of that gentleman's zeal and sincerity.

Some days after I again called on Mr. Sheares accompanied by Mr. Mathews: As before, we saw the two brothers. Mr. Sheares junior, made some slight apology to Mr. Mathews, for having neglected his appointment of calling on him.—I again expatiated on the cruel treatment which I received from the Society of United Irishmen, and declared that the circumstances of the times, the postponement of the trials, and the political connections of the . . . together with the nature of the publication, for which I was to be tried, left no room to hope for acquittal. On the contrary, it was the general opinion that I should meet with a heavy sentence of fine and imprisonment, which latter, through my disability of paying the former, might only terminate with my life. All I sought from the Society was *extrication* from the dilemma in which it had involved me—after which, I must, of necessity, quit the country. The *elder* Mr. SHEARES again spoke in

terms of the strongest disapprobation of the treatment which I had met with, and agreed with me *that there was every probability of my being sentenced to a heavy fine and imprisonment, for publishing the Address to the Volunteers*—but he repeated his fears, that the motion to exonerate my two sureties, would prove unsuccessful, on account of the *Capias* and other successive writs of Outlawry out against me, as specified through neglect of the Society's engagement. *He promised at the next meeting, to agitate the matter, and the younger Mr. Sheares also pledged himself to move at the next meeting, an enquiry into the violation of the Society's engagement relative to the article copied from the Northern Star.*

At the next meeting of the Society of United Irishmen, I attended with Mr. Mathews. The two Counsellor SHEARES's were also there ; but to our astonishment *they did not keep their promise of moving an enquiry into the violated engagement of the Society, nor did they mention a word of it ;* on the contrary, they seemed to wish to avoid turning their eyes to that part of the room where Mr. Mathews and I fate, *only once noticing us by a cold and constrained salute*

I could only account for this extraordinary conduct in these gentlemen in one way. It appeared to me that when they made a promise to me in the presence of Mr. Mathews, they were *sincere*. But that some other Lawyer or Lawyers of the Society, who were for *secret reasons* interested to induce the Society to desert me, had by *misrepresentations* or otherwise, worked on them to occasion their breach of promise to me.

I was at this time enabled to form some conjecture what those *secret reasons* were, from the nature of the opposition made to a motion which I brought forward in the society —“ That the *Committee of Correspondence* should be ordered to write to the *Societies of United Irishmen* in different parts of the kingdom, to request their co-operation in promoting a subscription to be applied to *support the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.*”—This motion was supported by Counsellor Emmet on the general principle of the necessity of supporting the *Liberty of the Press*—but I observed that

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he enforced the propriety of writing to *other societies* on the subject, by remarking that the exertions of the society of United Irishmen of Dublin *must be confined* to the fulfilling *one engagement* which it had entered into of supporting its members then under confinement.—Counsellor Mac Nally who opposed the *mode and principle* of the *motion*—agreed with Counsellor Emmet that the society's efforts must be confined to the *fulfilling its engagement* to their *Honourable and worthy President* then under confinement. It will perhaps be a matter of surprise to some unacquainted with the *present character* of public parties, to hear that in the opposition made to such a salutary motion, in a society founded on the *professed principles* of the *United Irishmen*, it was observed by a *leading member*—"That the support of the FREEDOM OF THE PRESS was a measure *too enlarged* for the Society."—Notwithstanding the *opposition* of the *Leaders*, the general conviction of the Society was so strong in favour of the motion, that on a division, there appeared 17 for the motion, only 18 against it. Being by that time sensible of the *pernicious and predominant spirit* of committing the Society in contests against Law, I again brought forward the motion at the ensuing meeting, only so altered as I hoped would do away Counsellor Mac Nally's objection; substituting for the words—"to be applied to the support of the *Liberty of the Press*."—these—"to be applied to the support of *such members of the society as are, or may be involved in prosecution by any of the publications of the society*." It met however still with the opposition of the Lawyers. Counsellor Mac Nally urging with great force that the Society *had entered into an engagement too solemn to be violated, too honourable not to be persisted in with spirit and effect*, as entitled to *prior consideration*, This engagement was to support their *honourable and worthy president and secretary*. To fulfil that engagement, every effort of the *society, and all subscriptions which might be entered into, ought to be confined*. On a division I lost the motion by 4. After this I was no longer at a loss to discover the *cause* of the society's *violated engagement*. I became sensible it was *something more than neglect*, and began to form a clear opinion of the *quarter* in which it *originated*. Thus by the application of every effort of the society to *one case*—the administration

ministration of the Society appear very *consistently* to assign *their tender regard* for its *solemn engagement* to the Honourable Simon Butler, as a reason for *their violation of its solemn engagement* to the printer Carey! Another instance of the *professions* by which a few artful men have contrived to make a number of honest well-meaning citizens, in some measure their *silent accessaries* for nearly a *twelvemonth*, in a deliberate series of injustice.

It is to be remarked that *when* I made the motion to "support the Liberty of the Press," I was *not then a printer*. I prefaced my argument on that night, with an observation—"That *while I followed the business of a printer*, although I experienced the *want of a proper support*, yet I had *not* brought forward such a motion through *delicacy*, I did it with confidence *then*, *when I had ceased to be a Printer*, because I could not be suspected to have *any selfish interest* in it," &c. &c.

The reflecting reader will not fail to notice the circumstance that the *solemn engagement* of the Society of United Irishmen to support *me* under the prosecution for the article from the Northern Star, took place in November, 1792, and that the Society's engagement to support the Honourable Simon Butler, did *not* take place till near *five months* after, in March 1793; yet we find the *printer*, with every right of *priority*, of *reason*, and of *justice*, set aside to *confine every effort* of the Society to fulfil the *latter engagement*, while the *former* was not merely *forgotten*; but every attempt to induce a due observance of it covertly and deliberately resisted, misrepresented and frustrated.

Before the expiration of the *Term* in June 1793, at a meeting of the Society, I again mentioned to Counsellor Emmet, the *violation of the Society's engagement to support me under the prosecution for publishing the account of the Belfast Rejoicings from the Northern Star*. I urged the shame and loss of public character which must attend the Society of United Irishmen *collectively and individually* should so shameful a conduct be persisted in.—I declared that although very unwilling to harbour an ill opinion of the proceedings of some leading men, yet I was latterly almost confirmed in a belief that the violation did not spring from ne-

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glect, but design, which gave me many fears lest I should eventually be compelled to *appeal to the public* in my own defence if the violation was persisted in. I also urged my wish and Mr. Mathews's, if in due course it could be done, to have a motion made in Court to exonerate my *two sureties* in the case of my arrest for publishing the Address of the Society to the Volunteers. Mr. Emmet appeared to me to be much altered in his manner to me, from what he was when I first saw him and spoke to him on the business at his own house. A *cold and neglectful distance* bordering on *incivility*, rather the opposite of his general manner seemed as if calculated to throw at a distance some troublesome person craving his professional aid *in forma pauperis*. He seemed to eye me while I spoke to him with that kind of scrutinizing reserve with which a person surveys one whom he deems a complainant *without cause*, or whose statement he has been *preinformed, is without foundation*. He replied to me in a tone suitable to his looks and manners. Seeming offended at my mention of an appeal, he said that "*he had been informed—the Society was only bound to support me in one instance,*" and that "*the Society would observe justice for its own sake without regard to any other considerations.*" The elder Counsellor SHEARES who was a witness to our discourse, observed to Mr. Emmet—"that Mr. Carey did *not* speak of an appeal, but as of a matter which he feared might be rendered necessary *as a measure to extricate him.*" This I assured Mr. Emmet was the fact; upon which the latter in somewhat an altered tone, said he would make immediate enquiry into the foundation of my complaint, and there closed the conversation.

I have to remark that this was the *first* time I heard any denial made of the Society's *second* engagement to support me. If I was surprised at such an insinuation I was pleased to find that Mr. Emmet did not assert it of *himself*, but *from the information of another*. It was to this cause I attributed his *cool and altered manner*. It was ever my opinion that this gentleman would not have any thing to do with a *premeditated act of injustice*. I think so still. It will be nevertheless evident in the sequel that Mr. Emmet's honourable

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ble principles were not a sufficient guard against the artful misrepresentation of *disbonest men*. They have succeeded in manning their own want of estimation with his character of probity, as well as with those of other men equally respectable. By what means they succeeded, the Public will judge.

On the ——— of June, 1793, almost 6 months after *CAPIAS* was issued against me, it appears that a WRIT of PLURIES, a FURTHER STAGE in the PROCESS of OUTLAWRY was issued against me in consequence of the SOLEMN ENGAGEMENTS of the SOCIETY of UNITED IRISHMEN to support me under prosecution for the publication of the BELFAST REJOICINGS from the Northern Star, being further continued to be totally neglected by the Lawyers of the Committee of Constitution of said Society.

Finding that several attempts which I made personally in the Society to bring on an enquiry relative to its violated engagement, were unaccountably opposed by the misrepresentations of the Lawyers of the Society, I felt a necessity of my bringing the matter before the body of the Society, in a manner more likely to produce the enquiry which I sought. In order to leave no room for *further misrepresentation*, I took with me, some time before the end of the Term in June, 1793, the Proprietor of the *Morning Star* to a Mr. Rourk, a member of the Society of UNITED IRISHMEN, and requested him to do me the favour to present from me a private note to Surgeon Wright, one of my bail, and also a *United Irishman*, as already mentioned.— In this note which I read to Mr. Rourk in the presence of the Proprietor of the *Morning Star*, I requested of Surgeon Wright to favour me by laying before the Society of United Irishmen at its next meeting a letter from me on the subject of the Society's violated engagement. This letter I also read to Mr. Rourk in the presence of the Proprietor of the *Morning Star*, and left it *unsealed* with Mr. Rourk, on his promise that he would next day wait on Surgeon Wright with the private note and letter, and that he would request an answer from the latter gentleman. The following is copied from the original of the letter which

which I gave to Mr. Rourke for Surgeon Wright to lay before the Society.

To the SOCIETY of UNITED IRISHMEN of DUBLIN.

Gentlemen,

In the NATIONAL EVENING STAR of the 3d of November, 1792; I published an account of the BELFAST REJOICINGS for the French successes, copied verbatim et literatim; from the NORTHERN STAR. On the 8th of the same month I received a Citation from the Attorney General, to shew cause before him why an information should *not* be filed against me for said publication. When these circumstances were publicly known, they were referred to the consideration of the Committee of Constitution, on the motion of *Surgeon Wright*. The Committee of Constitution reported thereon to the following purport: "That as said prosecution was commenced against me for supporting and disseminating principles similar to the principles of this Society, it became a part of their duty to support me under that prosecution." In consequence of this report, the Society unanimously passed a resolution, legally and constitutionally to support me under said prosecution, and relying on the solemn engagement of the Society, and being informed it was unnecessary, I forbore to engage counsel and agent, feeling a certainty that the Lawyers of the Committee of Constitution of this Society would take every measure needful for my defence.

I am concerned to add that it is now nearly seven months since the above resolution was passed, and solemn engagement entered into by this Society; and it appears, notwithstanding my repeated applications, that the necessary steps have *not* been taken for my defence. In consequence of which neglect, it appears that from time to time a CAPIAS and other successive writs proceeding to OUTLAWRY, have been issued against my person. If this neglect were *only injurious to me*, it might be deemed of less consequence

quence, but as it tends to impeach most materially the honour of this Society, and is, as I am informed, essentially connected with *another prosecution* against me, I trust it will be made the subject of an immediate enquiry.

The prosecution with which, as I am informed it is connected, originated in the following circumstance:—in the National Evening Star, December 18, 1792, I published, by order, the Address of this Society to the Volunteers of Ireland, for which publication I was arrested, gave bail, and it was decreed by this Society that I was entitled to be legally and constitutionally supported under this second prosecution by this Society.

I have since been informed by many sensible men, as well as by some Gentlemen of the Bar, and it is also my own opinion, from the particular temper of the times, from the postponement of the trials of those over whom prosecutions are pending for publishing and distributing the Address of the Society to the Volunteers, and from the political connections of, that if I stand my trial for publishing the Address of this Society to the Volunteers, I shall be sentenced to a heavy fine and imprisonment, the latter of which may end with my life.

It is necessary that I impress upon every member of this Society, that it is my decided wish to avoid the dangerous event of this trial by quitting Ireland, as from my having supported and disseminated principles similar to these *professed* by this Society, I have drawn down on myself the powerful enmity of Government, have been driven from my establishment, and became involved in weighty difficulties, all of which circumstances render it absolutely necessary for me to quit this kingdom; and I beg leave to impress it, that I am prevented from quitting Ireland only by a principle which binds me to meet the worst consequences, rather than to leave the two persons who became my sureties, when I was arrested for publishing the Address of this Society to the Volunteers,—to pay the forfeit of my non-appearance to stand my trial for said publication.

I entreat of every Member of this Society seriously to reflect on the ruinous consequences to me, which must
await

await my imprisonment for said publication. I shall be rendered liable to the consequences of the former prosecution,* and be overwhelmed by other embarrassments. I earnestly entreat of them seriously to consider how far they are solemnly pledged to support me under an imprisonment for a publication *coming from the Society*. Their support of their late President and Secretary proves that they feel it essential to their honour, to their character of honesty, and to their claims on public confidence, to support without distinction or partiality, each or every of their members imprisoned for any publication of this Society.

I therefore most earnestly request of the members of this Society that they will be pleased to order such immediate steps as may be deemed necessary to exonerate the gentlemen who have given bail for my appearance to stand my trial for the Address of this Society to the Volunteers.

I feel it necessary to add that a report is circulated in the Society—"That a motion cannot be made in Court to exonerate my bail *on account of the CAPIAS* and other successive writs proceeding to OUTLAWRY against me, in consequence of the neglect of this Society's engagement to support me under prosecution for publishing the article of the Belfast Rejoicings from the Northern Star," I therefore respectfully request that this Society will be pleased to order immediate enquiry into the causes of said neglect.

I am, gentlemen, and shall ever remain
a steady friend to the public interest,
W. P. CAREY.

The above being copied from the first sketch of my letter to the United Irishmen, I believe may differ in the wording of some parts from the copy which I gave to Mr. ROUREK, as I never could form a habit of literally copying any thing of my own writing. It however is the full purport, principle and tenour of the latter. If I mistake not, I took it over, after I had finished it and read it, for my friend, Mr. Mathews, who agreed on the propriety of it in every

* For the Belfast Rejoicings.

part, and felt the necessity of claiming the attention of the Society in that manner, from his own immediate knowledge of the dilemma in which I was plunged, and the misrepresentations to which I was liable.

Some days after I called on Mr. ROURK, and he informed me that he did deliver my private note, and the above-mentioned letter, to Surgeon WRIGHT, and that the latter *promised to consult some of the lawyers of the Society with whom he was intimate*, to obtain their concurrence, in laying my letter before the Society.—When I heard this answer from SURGEON WRIGHT, I foresaw that my letter *would not be permitted to come before the Society*. I told Mr. Rourk that I had a kind of conviction that means would be taken to suppress it wholly or to defeat its intentions. SURGEON WRIGHT's design of *consulting the lawyers of the Society*, appeared to me like a Grand Juror's consulting a criminal, whether he should prefer bills of indictment against him or not. The letter *was intended to defeat a combination of certain lawyers in the Society*, of which combination I was designed to be made a victim. The lawyers with whom this combination originated, had succeeded in strengthening their design, by the accession of some of their professional brethren, whose unsuspecting integrity they abused by means best known to themselves. It was to this party that Surgeon Wright meant to apply. To the very men who *originated* these unjustifiable proceedings against me, and to others who were unintentional accessaries in the business. It required no great degree of political sagacity, to foresee the result of such a consultation. I frankly foretold it to Mr. ROURK. This worthy man was willing to think that I might be mistaken. He hoped my judgment might prove unfounded, because he had hitherto been content to take the professions of the lawyers of the Society on trust. With a good heart, possessing honest intentions, plain sound sense, just reflections, little leisure, and much diffidence in public, he had never paid particular attention to the want of agreement between the *professed principles* of the Society, and the conduct of its leaders. A high opinion of his probity induced my acquaintance with him, and pointed him out as a person fit to apply to on occasion of the
above-mentioned

above-mentioned letter. His knowledge of my public conduct and principles induced him cheerfully to undertake to do me that service.

About a week after receiving *Surgeon Wright's* first answer, I called again on Mr. Rourk to enquire the issue of the business. I found I had not erred in my judgment. Mr. Rourk told me that he had again applied to Surgeon Wright to know his determination, and that the latter had informed him that he had *consulted some of the LAWYERS of the Society of UNITED IRISHMEN* with whom he was intimate, and *that they had agreed in ADVISING HIM not to LAY MY ABOVE-MENTIONED LETTER BEFORE THE SOCIETY,*

I believe my readers will by this time be at no loss in forming an opinion of the VIEWS and REAL CHARACTER of the COMBINATION to which I owe my present difficulties. They must perceive that the abandonment which I experienced, and which a few months before might be said to wear the appearance of UNACCOUNTABLE NEGLECT, now changed to OBVIOUS, though COVERT DESIGN and SYSTEMATIC DETERMINATION. A full sense of this induced me to request of Mr. ROURK to favour me by undertaking to bring forward my letter to the Society at its next meeting, and to move that it should be read by the President or Secretary.

This well meaning man who had expressed and really felt for the difficulties in which I was involved, was nevertheless diffident of *originating* any measure *in Public*, on the score of his being an unconnected and private individual in the Society. I did not press him because it had occurred to me in my conversation with him, that the attention of the Lawyers was roused by Surgeon Wright's application to them, and that they who opposed the letter *out of* the Society, would oppose it if *brought in* at that time; by which means its intention, which was to institute an enquiry into the neglect of the Society's solemn engagement by the Lawyers of the Committee of Constitution, would be defeated.

Some

Some time before this Messrs. Ridgeway and Symonds of London, received sentence of *two years imprisonment in Newgate*, for publishing the *Rights of Man*. Mr. *John Frost*, an Attorney, of the same city, received sentence of *six months confinement in Newgate*, and to be struck off the roll, for *uttering seditious expressions*. On the 30th of July, 1793, some time after the above circumstance of my endeavouring to call the attention of the Society to its solemn engagement, Mr. MUIR of Hunters-hill, a Scotch gentleman of the bar, was sentenced by the Court of Justiciary of Scotland, to *be imprisoned or transported for FOURTEEN YEARS* beyond the seas at his Majesty's pleasure, for *distributing seditious writings*. The principal charge against him being for distributing and reading at a public meeting, *An ADDRESS* from the SOCIETY of UNITED IRISHMEN IN DUBLIN, to the DELEGATES for promoting a REFORM IN SCOTLAND, dated Nov. 23, 1792.

The 13th of September, 1793, the Rev. Mr. FYSCH PALMER was sentenced by the Court of Justiciary in Scotland to SEVEN YEARS IMPRISONMENT, or TRANSPORTATION BEYOND SEAS at *his Majesty's pleasure*, the charge against him being *the distribution of seditious writings*.

In addition to these *signal instances* of what I had to expect, if brought to trial, for the Address of the United Irishmen to the Volunteers, a number of severe sentences took place in different parts of England, on charges of *writing, publishing, and uttering seditious expressions*. The strong impression which was made upon the public mind, by these rigorous examples, did not fail to have its due share of effect upon me. It was the general opinion that I must appear to stand my trial in common with others in Nov. following. The prison, which for a twelvemonth had appeared a distant boundary to my prospects, already seemed open to receive me, without affording any hope of a speedy termination of my confinement. In this crisis it might be expected that the REPUTED AUTHOR of the *Address to the Volunteers*, would have felt anxiously solicitous for the fate of the Printer, whom he had involved in so dangerous a dilemma. It might be expected that the lawyers of the

Committee

Committee of Constitution who had brought forward that publication, functioned as legal, would have felt equally concerned in my fate. It might be expected, even if these men were by an utter destitution of every manly principle, and a callous depravity of heart, induced through selfish motives to a treacherous abandonment of me, that still the great body of the Society, under whose name that publication had been issued, would have had honesty enough to rally round me in the hour of my impending peril. If such expectations were formed by the public they were miserably disappointed by the event. Far from discharging their duty to me by devising some mode to extricate me, the lawyers who had involved me, sensible that the ill treatment which I had met with, began to transpire, and would soon be publicly known, felt a conviction that they must either admit the fact of their having ill-treated me, or find out some excuse for their conduct. From that moment it appears the very men to whom, in the first instance, I owed my difficulties, and who secretly caused the violation of the Society's engagement, found a necessity of attempting to *whisper away my character* in their own defence. Had I been a private individual they would have succeeded. Fortunately the publicity of my conduct and principles interposed a shield between me and the shafts of calumny employed on the occasion. Dismayed by the general approbation of my character, the cold and timorous malignity of these men, never ventured from that darkness which befriended it—They appeared in the situation of the persons alluded to, in the following fine lines of *Pope*:

*“Willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike,
They hint a fault—and hesitate dislike;
Damn with faint praise—assent with civil leer,
And without sneering, teach the rest to sneer.”—*

The most galling consideration which the prospect of a prison occasioned to me, was the unavoidable necessity which it would impose on me, of depending on the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen. As, without stooping

to

to obtain their favour. I must suffer abandonment in confinement. The success or failure of any measure proposed in the Society, being invariably determined by the support or opposition which it received from them. I felt much uneasiness from a reflection that I could not have a certainty of a continuance of any kind of business in a prison. At that time the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen made loud complaints of the want of spirit in the Printers of the Dublin Newspapers, declaring that they could not get any one of them to print or publish for them. They also had it in contemplation to raise a subscription of £1000. to set on foot a newspaper under their own direction. Their plan was to fix upon some person *already confined in Newgate* to be the Printer and Proprietor of that intended paper. They were of opinion, that a man, *who had lost his liberty*, would have less fears in printing for them than any other Printer.

My friends who saw a speedy prospect of my being sentenced to confinement for the Address to the Volunteers, deemed the intention which I have just mentioned, might afford an opportunity of my setting on foot some permanent business, for the support of my family, previous to my imprisonment. They did not mean that I should run any further risk by publishing any thing contrary to my own judgment. But they were of opinion that the leaders of the society would feel ashamed not to give me the preference in their plan, and that I could repay them by printing for them, such papers, as I might deem *safe*, or if more agreeable in cash, at my own future convenience.

I had purchased a new Press, frames, and cases, during the summer. I had remaining in my possession a new font of letter, formerly intended for the National Evening Star. With these and my apprentices, a very small sum would enable me to commence a newspaper. Added to my own resources, I found I should only want **ONE HUNDRED POUNDS** to publish the first number.

On this occasion I called on Counsellor Rice, who was of opinion that Mr. Rowan's influence rendered him the properest person to apply to. I was myself of opinion that Mr. Rowan's influence could have effected a greater measure than

that which I proposed. But I own I placed small reliance on his exertions, from my knowledge, that he acted less from his own good sense, than from the advice of some of the lawyers who formed his council. My principal reason in writing to Mr. Rowan at that time was, that I might not have any cause to reproach myself with leaving untried any just means to free myself from any future dependence on the leaders of the Society.

When it comes to be considered that the request of the loan of *one hundred pounds* from the funds of the Society was made by a man who had been so materially a sufferer by that society—and who was about to meet the sentence of a court, of fine and imprisonment, for an act of that Society. It will perhaps be considered no very extravagant request. But when we add to this, that the purpose to which this sum was to be applied, was the assisting to found a *popular newspaper*—and also when we consider that the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen *profess* to set so high a value on the Freedom of the Press, and at that moment complained of the want of a newspaper to insert their writings in --- We might be totally at a loss to *discover the nature of the objection* offered by the leaders to such a proposal.

But it appears that the same reasons which were urged by Counsellor Mac Nally in opposition to the motion which I made in the Society, “ To set on foot a *subscription to support the liberty of the Press*”---formed an insurmountable obstacle to the proposal which I submitted to Mr. Rowan, as will appear by Mr. Rowan’s answer to my letter, which Counsellor Rice did me the favour to deliver to him. The superscription of that gentleman’s reply was directed to W. Browne, (the name by which I then went) Glasnevin, near Dublin. The contents of it were literally as follows :

August 8, 1793.

When I received your letter, or rather before I received it, I met Counsellor Rice, who imparted to me the subject; I then said that *I should not be at the meeting of the United Irishmen*, and that OTHER EXERTIONS taking place at this moment, I feared, as he seemed to fear also, that any other proposition might be *ineffectual*.

It

It is VAIN to hold out a HOPE of attracting the PUBLIC ATTENTION, or acquiring the PUBLIC SUPPORT at the present season, I think it impossible. The PEOPLE are all apathy or terror, and do not see in other's prosecutions the foreboding storm to themselves. I will call on you when I go to town, which will be in about a fortnight or perhaps sooner.

In Mr. Rowan's *note extraordinary* I have remarked on the difference between the *respectful address*, "*My dear Chambers,*" and the *uncustomary abruptness* of the surname, "*Carey.*"—Here I have no such fault. To the above letter Mr. Rowan did *not* subscribe *his own name*, nor prefix *mine*. These remarks are not merely *fastidious*. From the *context* of this last note and that of the note extraordinary, so very opposite to Mr. Rowan's former and customary style, I confess I thought Mr. Rowan not very warm in my cause. The total departure from his general politeness to cold and negligent incivility, was to me unaccountable. It proved to me that previous to the memorable night of exoneration, in Mr. Rowan I had no friend. "The *other exertions,*" which he mentioned, and his *fears* of the ill success of my proposal, added to the decisive expressions, "*It is vain to hold out a hope of attracting the public attention, or acquiring public support,*" pointed out to me clearly that I could not rely on any support from the body which had involved me. As I saw it evident that the same reason would ever be assigned in order to appropriate the funds of the society to the *support and aggrandisement* of a *favoured few*. I am willing to think that Mr. Rowan's *fears* of my proposal failing, did not originate with himself, but were caused by the suggestions of others on the subject. Perhaps the individuals immediately concerned in the "*other exertions,*" were the persons by whom he was influenced.

In the above letter Mr. Rowan assigns as a reason *against any exertion on my proposal*, "that OTHER EXERTIONS WERE TAKING PLACE AT THAT MOMENT, and two lines lower he declares, "IT IS VAIN TO HOLD OUT A HOPE OF ATTRACTING THE PUBLIC ATTENTION, or ACQUIRING THE PUBLIC SUPPORT AT THE PRESENT SEASON. *I think it impossible.*" Are not these assertions *contradictions* of each other.

other. Mr. Rowan and the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen have too much good sense to make exertions *without hope*---where it would be *vain to entertain a hope*, and above all, where exertion must be attended with an *impossibility of success*. It is therefore to be presumed that *hopes of a public support* were entertained by these gentlemen in the other exertions which were taking place at that moment. I confess it appears to me a proof that, *it was not from his belief of the absolute impossibility of obtaining a public support*, that Mr. Rowan feared to bring forward my proposal, but from his knowledge that whatever public support could be obtained was designed to be appropriated to OTHER EXERTIONS taking place AT THAT MOMENT.

Were I to write to the PRIME MINISTER to solicit a trifling favour from government, and to receive in answer from him, "That he *feared* it would be vain to hold out a hope of attracting his Majesty's attention, or acquiring the support of Government at the present season." I should not be a moment at a loss to understand his *real meaning*. It would be a folly to suppose that the great personage whose speech is decisive in the cabinet, and who has the direction of the state, is destitute of power to obtain a trivial favour for a man whom he has a wish to befriend. In such a case were I master of the *wooden sword of Harlequin Touchstone*, which is supposed to possess the power of compelling every one whom it touches to speak the *truth*, I would instantly make the minister use a different language. He must answer in *honest English* thus—"I have the power but not the inclination to obtain your wish—I did not choose to appear myself the obstacle to it, and when I talked of my fears that you would not succeed, my only fears were, that if I brought forward your memorial, from your known character, you would prove successful."

Now every United Irishman knows what a weight any proposition brought forward by Mr. Rowan in that Society has had. I know of none in which he has ever been unsuccessful.

We ought not to suppose that Mr. Rowan acted from any want of feeling, when he so decidedly cut off every hope of a public support from the printer Carey, then tottering on the verge of a prison, with the sentence of a court pending

over him. No, Mr. Rowan's feelings, and his humanity are acknowledged. He had at that very period approved his feelings and manly sympathy in the case of the unfortunate victim, Mr. MUIR, the Scotch Gentleman, who was sentenced to fourteen years transportation to *Botany Bay*. It appears this devoted man had written a letter to Mr. Rowan, which *I am informed*, contained sentiments worthy of an intrepid advocate of freedom. It had nothing artificial, nothing of the pedantic energies, the turgid and solemn obscurity which distinguish other productions of the day. The writer possessed a calm and resolute spirit, and his pen did justice to his thoughts. He did not affect to brave the terrible sentence which he only deplored. He did not conceal his sense of so irretrievable a calamity. He neither boasted of himself, nor placed his resources in his own courage. He despised that miserable trick of assumed infidelity by which weak minds sometimes deceive themselves in the attempt to deceive others—that poor device by which they seek to establish an opinion of their superior strength and discernment. Sensible that man was created to be depressed by misfortune, to be elevated by prosperity, in his own adversity he spoke of his reliance on his God. In adverting to his *past* conduct with firm adherence to his principles, he looked forward without despair upon the rigorous destiny of his *future* life, mingling the glories of a suffering patriot with the pious resignation, the humble hope, and the generous fortitude of a believing christian.*

I have said Mr. Muir's letter was addressed to Mr. Rowan. But I have some recollection that it was directed to him as a leading member of the United Irishmen, to be read to the Society. Of this I am not now certain. Nor was I present at the meeting when Mr. Rowan obtained so much credit by the singular propriety and feeling with which he read it. I have been informed, that Mr. Rowan not only sensibly effected his audience on the occasion, but was himself so deeply affected by the sentiments and severe fate of Mr. Muir, that he was at times scarcely capable to articulate distinctly through excessive emotion. At these moments it appears the more eloquent silence of his expressive eye, spoke that concern which his tongue refused to utter.

* See another letter of Mr. Muir's published in the newspapers

There

There is no man more ready than I am to do honour to the sympathy expressed by Mr. Rowan in the case of the *unfortunate Scotch Gentleman*, Mr. Muir, but I am astonished, and know not how to account for his *apathy*, in the case of the *Irish Printer*, Carey. Is it possible that the liberal mind of Rowan could be influenced by any *supposed distinction of rank*, between the *public spirited advocate*, and the *well-meaning Printer*. Surely it was not merely because he was a *Scotch Gentleman* and an *advocate*, that Mr. Rowan felt for him—but because *he had fallen under the sentence of the law in his struggles to serve the public cause*. But the *Printer*, Carey, was also a sufferer in the *same cause*—he had been for some eight or ten months in a state of proscription.—His Majesty's Attorney General was fast proceeding to *Outlawry* against him in one case, and the heavy sentence of a court hung over him in another. This sentence might or might not end in transportation, or fine and imprisonment for a number of years—and for what was all this storm against him?—Mr. Rowan and his friends have acknowledged it was for the *Printer*, Carey's having struggled to serve the public cause.—After all perhaps Mr. Rowan himself would be at a loss to assign any just reason for the difference of his conduct on two occasions so nearly similar.

Whether the cause of this *apparent inconsistency* in Mr. Rowan's feelings was an *aristocratic prejudice* or not; I shall leave it to my readers to judge. I do not think it a difficult task clearly to *define it*. I shall venture to remark on its *effects*.—Mr. Rowan's *sympathy in the case of Mr. Muir* could produce *no beneficial effect* whatever, to that ill-fated man. It could not *recall the terrible sentence of the law*. That was past. It was final, *irrevocable*. Mr. Rowan's *fruitless sympathy* therefore partook of a double sentiment—a feeling for the *sufferings* to which Mr. Muir was doomed—and a *sorrow for his own UTTER INCAPACITY* to *extricate him*. But while he obtained *such honour by lamenting his own INCAPACITY* in that case, how could Mr. Rowan become blind and insensible to the perilous situation of his brother *United Irishman and fellow-soldier, the printer Carey*? Had his feelings taken a turn in favour of the *man of business*, he could have *extricated him*. I was not yet brought to trial. The sentence of the law *was hanging over me, not yet pronounced*. It might as I have already stated, end in *heavy fine*

fine and long imprisonment—or in sentence of transportation for a term of years beyond the seas, at his Majesty's pleasure. It was expected by the lawyers of the Society that it would be severe—Yet it is evident the misfortunes impending over the Printer, Carey, had not power to excite Mr. Rowan's sympathy. He made no effort in my favour; although it must be evident that his interposition and influence could have procured the exoneration of my bail, and enabled me to escape the evils which threatened me.

Mr. Rowan's feeling for Mr. Muir—was a kind of weeping over the dead, whom he could not restore. His apathy in the case of the Printer, Carey, was a neglect of the living sick man, whom he had it in his power to cure.

By what name would Mr. Rowan call the person who, with the power of curing, sits by a sick man without assisting him, but who afterwards weeps over the dead corpse with the most passionate exclamations of sorrow!

What kind of sympathy is this which is *only* excited when misfortunes become *irretrievable*, and when it can be of *no use*,—*which sleeps when it might be of service?*

After all perhaps Mr. Rowan himself would be at a loss to define his own principles: not as they appear in *theory*, but as *they apply to his particular practice.*

Must not Mr. Rowan's candour confess that he cannot answer me here unless with an *unpopular argument*, exactly the reverse of the spirit and tenour of his professed principles as a *United Irishman*, and one of the people.

“ *Let honest candour speak and own the truth.*”

Is it not clear that the whole united powers of physic and law in the society cannot support Mr. Rowan in answer, unless they support him by an *aristocratic argument*, directly the reverse of the brotherhood of *affection*—“the identity of interests,”—the communion of *rights*,” and the union of *power*,” which every United Irishman pledges himself, by a *solemn test*, to use all his abilities and influence to establish among every class of *Irishmen*.

It is certain that the best of men are at times too little acquainted with their *own motives*; too indolent to consult *fixed principles*, a constant recurrence to which only can present

present to the discerning eye of candour, that uniform propriety which constitutes an exemplary character. How often do we mistake that vanity which does good in order to have its merits made a popular theme, for that sublime and ben-volent patriotism, which has no other view but the pleasure of serving the community. The one performs in the meridian splendor which it courts. It flies to the high places of the city where it loves to exhibit to the croud. It deals much in the white handkerchief, the bursting sigh, the woful look, and the loud lament, with all the pathos of *stage trick*, all the affected fervour of declamation, so impressive upon the multitude. The latter silent, delicate and sincere, is distinguished by a majestic simplicity, an honorable consistency. Its impartial spirit, is not swayed by *persons*, but by *principles* of justice from which it never swerves. A stranger to ostentation, and averse to parade, it seeks not popularity, it shuns observation. In the midnight hour it wakes for the PUBLIC CAUSE—in the stillness of seclusion it plans the PUBLIC WELFARE. Far from *hunting the bubble reputation as a reward*, it retires within itself. It finds in its own meditations—in the proud consciousness of integrity—in the reflection of talents well applied, the noblest reward which human nature can enjoy—which birth or rank and titles cannot bestow—that pure and exalted delight which is ever attendant on the self-approbation of a virtuous mind.

I confess it is this truly noble character which I would ever wish to perceive in Mr. Rowan. I repeat it, it is this I first conceived of him. But I grieve that Mr. Rowan under the direction of others is not always himself.

There are always to be found a number of mighty good sort of patriots, with their mouths filled with *popular grievances*, and their hearts with plans for their own consequence. These men are ever first to decry the reigning prejudices of aristocracy, to which they are themselves most wedded:

On proper occasions, to men *who are not of the privileged orders*, they know how to expatiate upon the pernicious consequence of *privileged orders* in the state. They declare that a *radical form* ought to include an *abolition* of all *unfair distinctions*, or in their own words, “ A REMOVAL
of

of ABSURD and RUINOUS DISTINCTIONS"—or in the demolition of ABSURD and OPPRESSIVE FORMS against the COMMON SENSE and COMMON *interests* of MANKIND," *without which every reform in Parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient to the freedom and happiness of this country.* (See first declaration and test of the United Irishmen.) All this solemnity of profession answers very well to draw a number of plain and well-meaning men to form a club. A more *specious theory* could not be well devised for the purpose, but in practice it appears these men *only wage war against FORMS*, not against OPPRESSIVE PRINCIPLES, they oppose POWER, in order to obtain it. They know how to decry injustice, and when to adopt it. "*Absurd prejudices and ruinous distinctions,*" are false and criminal in others but not so in *themselves*.

Thus they can call upon *senatorial* wisdom to consider the MONSTROUS and IMMEASURABLE DISTANCE which SEPARATES in THIS ISLAND, the RANKS of SOCIAL LIFE"—(see circular letter of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin. The honorable S. Butler in the Chair, 30th December, 1791.) yet after having, as a measure of *honour*, laid aside the *supposed distance* between the *aristocratic gentleman* and the *man of business*—they know how to *flie* to it as a measure of *safety*, in order to excuse their submitting to a deserved affront, which *passively to endure*, would otherwise prove a *death to their character*. (See my letters to the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen.)—It furnishes occasion for a triumphal bulletin, that a personage in high official station chose to act as became his dignity, by refusing to make the discharge of his official duty a *personal affair* with a man *no way his intimate or companion*; but it is highly *courageous* and *manly* in these champions of liberty to shrink under the RETORT PERSONAL, given by an injured man, received and acknowledged by a solemn test, as their *EQUAL*, their political associate and military companion. (See *Simon Butler's bulletin* on occasion of *his message to a certain nobleman*—and again see my letter to the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen.) It is a daring assumption of power, and a direct violation of the liberty of the subject in the House of Commons, to proceed against a man *without summoning the party complained of to answer in his defence*.

(See

(See publication of the United Irishmen, March 30, 1792.) But it is no crime in one of these Partisans, the *reputed author* of a publication which had been the prime cause of a printer's ruin, to *move* the expulsion of that printer, on a *mere surmise* of a matter in itself highly meritorious, without summoning him to answer in his own defence. (See Drennan's motion for my expulsion, Nov. 1st.) It is heinous in a secret committee of the HOUSE of LORDS to attempt to question a man, or to debase evidence from him in his own cause—but it is exceedingly praiseworthy in these very consistent patriots to attempt this practice against an injured man, whom they had combined to insult, vilify, and degrade in the face of the community. (See the publication for which Messrs. Butler and Bond were committed to Newgate, and again see the attempt of the two Counsellor Sheares's, and the other lawyers of the Society, to extort evidence from me against myself on the night of my expulsion.) His refusal to give evidence against himself, is taken as sufficient proof against an ill-treated printer—the refusal of others to give evidence against themselves, is applauded as highly prudent and public spirited. (See my conduct on the night of expulsion, and that of Mr. Rowan before the magistrate at Edinburgh, and that of Dr. Reynolds before the secret committee of the House of Lords.) In short are not the *principles* and *practice* of these men *eternally in opposition*? In what do they differ from the political instruments which they affect to declaim so loudly against?—In their VIRTUOUS PROFESSIONS—in their *want* of POWER—in what do they resemble them?—In all the prominent features of *political simulation*? If *aristocratic insolence* without the shadow of pretensions to it—if a rapacious spirit of monopoly and unprincipled profusion of the public money—of unjustifiable oppression and of childish ambition—of unmanly, cruel and cowardly calumny; if these great qualities constitute the statesman, are not some of these leaders ill treated in not being permitted long since to hold a distinguished place in the administration of their country.

These are the political pharisees who are delighted to hear the trumpet of ostentation blowing about in every quarter, to extol their public spirit, their humanity and the *magnitude* of

of the *object* which excites it. A trivial misfortune to a person of any rank is to be made a subject of general lamentation, while the total ruin and irretrievable calamities of a person in business, or rather, according to their *private* language, of *one* of the *vulgar*, are unworthy of the smallest consideration.

These are the political pharisees, who, to lift themselves into consequence upon the shoulders of the people whom they abuse—Cry out “ We gladly look forward to brighter prospects—to a PEOPLE UNITED in the FELLOWSHIP of FREEDOM”—“ We agree in giving POLITICAL VALUE and STATION to the great majority of the people”—We call upon you therefore to build your arguments and your actions on the *broad platform* of the GENERAL GOOD—It is necessary to *hold out your hand and open your heart* to your *countryman, townsman, neighbour*.—Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by *political penalties or civil excommunication, withhold the rights of nature from your brother*?—“ Away from us and from our children, those *peurile antipathies, so unworthy of the manhood of nations, which insulate individuals, as well as countries, and drive the citizen back to the savage.*” * What do all these expressions mean? or if they have any meaning, is it not a *full and undeniable recognition* of the principle of EQUALITY in each and every member of the Society of United Irishmen? Does not the country gentleman who becomes a member of that Society, and who sanctions these public declarations, and others still stronger in private conversations, does he not step from the *little mount of aristocracy* to the level of Democratic equality? Does he not lay aside any *supposed distinction* which the *usage of this country has established between the meer gentleman and the man of business*? Does not the gentleman of phycic, and the gentleman of the bar—the honourable gentleman, and the gentleman not honourable—Do they not all extend their hands, and open their hearts, *laying aside every artificial distinction, to their countryman, townman, neighbours and brothers*? Do they not *abjure all those prejudices which divide man from man, and create “ the monstrous and immeasurable distance, which separates in this island, the RANKS of SOCIAL*

* These extracts are copied from the publications of UNITED IRISHMEN
LIFE?

LIFE? Ought these gentlemen, with any character of honour or manly spirit, or consistency, attempt to *resume these distinctions*, to *sneak behind them* as a bulwark, and to shelter themselves by a contemptible and creeping plea of INEQUALITY, when *personally committed with a man of business*. A man approved the friend of liberty---received as their brother, and acknowledged their EQUAL --in that solemn test by which they pledged themselves in the *presence of GOD*, to their country to endeavour to forward a brotherhood of affection. (Have I experienced it ?) An identity of interests, (In which part of their actions is this visible ?) a communion of rights, (How comes it that it shall be *right* in the honourable Simon Butler---Mr. Rowan---the Counsellor Sheares's, &c. &c. to resent what they deem ill-treatment, and to expose a fallhood in the public prints, and that it shall be counted *wrong* in the Printer, Carey, to do the same under similar circumstances.) And a union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions." Of this last I again repeat it that I know *of no absurd prejudice of their own rank, which they have laid aside in their own persons*. And their inconsistent conduct would tempt one to think that the union of power which they seek for, is only to enable them to *tread upon the absurd prejudices of a higher order to get into a rank*, and to obtain a power from which they are *themselves excluded*.

They praise the faults they have a mind to,
But damn for those they're not inclin'd to.

These are the *Pharisaical friends of the People*, whose *elevated minds* require *elevated objects* to excite their *brotherhood of affection and sympathy*. These are they who deem courage a crime, and public spirit of no value, and losses imprisonment, proscription or exile---no misfortune to a *man of business*, while any of these qualities or circumstances, or even their appearance in a gentleman or an honourable man, is to attract the attention, the applause, the commiseration and the reverence of the multitude.

What would the leaders of the *United Irishmen* say of a few gentlemen under the Firm of "*Integrity, National Security, and Commercial benefit*" attempting to set up a bank upon the principle of passing their own gold coin upon the public

lic at the full current value, and of allowing but one-twentieth of the current value for all gold coin offered to them by the public in the course of business? Can it be imagined that wealthy men would fly to lodge their money in such a bank, however boasted the security might be for the property placed in it? No. The public would immediately see the transaction in its true light. They would change the names of the ingenious partners in the house, Messrs. *Integrity, National Security, and Commercial Benefit* into those of Messrs. *Knavery, Insanity, and Impudent Imposition*, who would find it difficult to persuade a single individual to become a dealer on such *eligible terms*.

Is not this the *farce* attempted by the leaders of the United Irishmen, who attempt to pass off the virtues and nobler qualities of the mind as *only* estimable in *their own persons*, while *they overlook or depreciate them* as if of no value in others? It is in vain that these *traders in patriotism* have opened their WAREHOUSE, under the *firm* of UNION, EQUALITY, and PUBLIC SPIRIT—their *best customers* have ceased to visit the shop in Back-lane, and the printer, Carey, in derision of their *pettifogging chicanery* has written over their door, the real names of the partners in the firm—not “UNION, EQUALITY, and PUBLIC SPIRIT”—but “The JUNTO, LAW, PHYSIC, ARISTOCRACY, INDIGENCE, and AMBITION.”

But perhaps it may be said that these men who affect still to embrace the people with one *democratic* hand, and to strike them down and repel them to an *aristocratic* distance with the other, are themselves deceived. That they are so from the force of prejudice without being aware of it.

This is only assigning a *cause* for their aristocracy, which still proves them to be *aristocrats*.

The men who have sought to distinguish themselves by a crie of LIBERTY and EQUALITY undefined, and as it is applied, impracticable, will be the first to cry out against a MORAL EQUALITY, which is practicable.---What to make virtue equally estimable in all men?---is not this to make all men of equal estimation? This inference is ridiculous. The standard value of gold being equally fixed in the hands of the *poor* and the *rich* has not made all men equally *rich*---it only makes every man labour to acquire

quire riches. In like manner a standard estimation of *public virtue* being equally fixed, it might not make every man public spirited, but it would create a powerful incitement to public virtue in every man.

If money were only of value in the hands of the higher orders ; the peasant, the artisan, the trader, and the merchant would cease to toil for it. Their views would not extend beyond the necessities of life--the rich would be punished for their monopoly.

While public spirit is disregarded in men of business, they will be destitute of public spirit. They can have little stimulus to run a hazard for the common cause. If, on the contrary, public spirit be encouraged and applauded in the mass of the people. The mass of the people will become emulous of the character of public spirit.

I again repeat it, the very men who cry out, " We agree therefore in the necessity of giving *political value and station to the great majority of the people*"---and who declare, " that unless the rights of the *whole community* be asserted *anarchy* (we cannot call it government) must continue to prevail, where the *strong* tyrannize, the *rich* oppress, and the *mass* are *brayed in a mortar*." These very men, who cry out, " If you raise up a *prone people*, let it not be merely to their *knees*, let the *nation stand*." These men now as strongly oppose this principle of *moral equality*. They say it is impossible!---" It can never pervade the mass of the people." I ask of them " have they not called upon senatorial wisdom, to build their arguments and their actions upon the *broad platform of general good*," that is upon just principles, and I ask of them is it not a just principle---That every man ought to be *valued according to the integrity of his actions*. They must acknowledge it is so. Is not this a moral equality ? From whence then rises the impossibility of enforcing it, but from the "*absurd and ruinous distinctions, from the puerile antipathies, unworthy of the manhood of nations, which insult individuals as well as countries, and drive back the citizen to the savage* ?" Is not the Society of United Irishmen founded expressly, to remove these absurd and ruinous prejudices ? How then are we to account for the leaders of the Society opposing their
removal

removal within the pale of the meetings at the Taylor's Hall? Simply because they appear to have nothing at heart but to obtain a *self consequence*, and that object would be defeated if their professions were expressly defined, as to necessitate them to set an example to the nation, by removing "*all absurd and ruinous distinctions*," within the circle of their own meetings.

Do not these men know that "the recognition of Irish independence was declared to be an impossible attempt? Was not Catholic Emancipation declared to be impossible? Is not reform opposed as *impossible*? Has not every great truth been opposed as *impossible*?

If this principle of a moral equality be opposed as impossible, I ask what do my opponents mean by equality? They do not mean a levelling of property. They cannot produce an equality of talents. They do not mean a *political equality* only for the reputed writer of the address to the volunteers in that and other of his papers, speaks of "*rights—which can neither be bought nor sold, granted by charter, nor forestalled by monopoly---*but which *Nature dictates as the birthright of all*, and which it is the business of a constitution to define, to enforce, and to establish."—(See address to the Scotch delegates from the Society of United Irishmen) Are not these the RIGHTS of NATURE by which all men are equal? Yet the same writer, eternally at variance with himself, tells us in the circular letter of the Society of United Irishmen—"Government is instituted to remedy, not to render more grievous the natural inequality of mankind." What are we to understand from these contradictory positions? Nothing; but that political dissimulation will ever be inconsistent not only in its professions and actions, but that it is impossible for its professions not to contradict each other. Is it not evident to the plainest capacity, that the writer in question has too much elevation of mind to confine himself to fixed principles, or that his fluctuating principles have been taken up to serve a temporary purpose? Another instance of the same writer's happy talent at reconciling contradictions occurs in the address to the volunteers—"If our constitution be imperfect, nothing but a reform in representation will rectify its abuses; if it be perfect, nothing but the same reform will perpetuate

ate its blessings." What sort of a reform is this to be which is first to reduce imperfection to perfection, and then to go on reforming as before? What are we to think of this man's intellects, who has devised a plan of reform equally necessary for evil and good? Yet this kind of quaint and unintelligible pedantry is termed fine writing, and it is by political reveries stuffed with such *sublime* absurdities, that the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin, has been reduced to its present situation.

The Doctor would be deemed a madman who would gravely tell his friend, "If your health be dangerously impaired, nothing but bleeding and blistering can remove your malady; if you are in perfect health, nothing but the same bleeding and blistering, will perpetuate your health." Or, "If your limb be dangerously fractured, nothing but amputation can preserve you; and if your limb be not fractured; nothing but the same amputation can preserve you.

Again the same writer in the circular letter of the United Irishmen has the following phrase, "Are we for ever to walk like *beasts of prey*, over fields which those ancestors stained with blood?" Here the unfortunate Irish, who have ever been *preyed upon*, are confounded with the *ferocious people who preyed upon them*. And in the same publication we meet with this singular misapplication of terms, "We see a mutual intolerance and a common *carnage* of the *moral emotions* of the heart." A *carnage* of the *moral emotions*! What would the writer say of a *moral fracture* of the *skull*, or a *moral murder* of the *human body*? Yet these expressions are not more improperly applied than those which I have quoted from his own production. Are we to wonder if this metaphorical ambiguity, has in two years done so little for union, or reform, as to force the author himself to confess that he is in common with the other friends of these questions, looked upon by the nation as an "*assassin and incendiary*?" (see address to *Bond and Butler*.) The reason is, *rhetorical flourishes* were lost upon the multitude, and being liable to many interpretations, the enemies of reform had an opportunity of interpreting as they pleased, and of affixing the character of republicans and levellers upon the members of the society.

Perspicuity, which is so much beneath this gentleman's notice, is as essential to fine writing as truth and justice are to morals, and animated expression and symmetry of proportion, to beauty of countenance and form. To fill the
mind

mind with ideas succinctly branching as it were from the trunk of a single thought is not the quality of every writer. We find it in the simple purity of Addison, and the manly vigour of Swift. We are never at a loss for their meaning. Junius, Knox, Blair, Beattie, and Robertson are equally fortunate. In our own country and time, Todd Jones and Counsellor Tone are happy examples. If these men are worthy of the praise of fine writing, the author of the papers in question is unworthy of that reputation. If he be entitled to the praise of a fine writer, the names I have just mentioned must descend to posterity naked of that applause which they now receive. They studied by the graces of composition to render elevated ideas familiar to the plainest capacity. On the contrary, in the writings of the reputed author of the Address to the Volunteers, we find obvious principles continually hidden by a cumbrous pomp of ornament, and plain thoughts studiously *elevated* into *obscurity*.

To those who assert that it is impossible to influence the NATION to the observance of moral equality; I answer, that it is perhaps impossible to make all men true, honest, and virtuous. It does not however follow, that the Senator is to cease his struggles for the public liberty, the Magistrate no more to punish dishonesty, or the Divine to neglect inculcating the precepts of religion. Although I am fully sensible of the difficulty of influencing *the nation* by the principle I speak of, yet, I know that the obstacles do not arise from the *people*; and, at any rate, I know of no just reason to oppose so fair a principle in the *Society of United Irishmen*, which was founded to *remove absurd distinctions*, and which has no other power but that of *reason and persuasion* to influence the public. If the Members of that Society refuse to listen to reason how can they expect to influence the public by it? At Court a man of rank may claim superior consequence; or a man of family and fortune among his domestics; and property must ever command a preference in the market for the conveniences and luxuries of life. But in a popular Society, where the man of rank, family, and fortune, on becoming a member, takes a *solemn test of equality*, all other considerations ought to give way to justice; and every Member in delivering his opinion, should only possess the weight due to the *truth* of his argument. For example. When the Hon. Simon Butler called the then President, Dr. Drennan, to order, on his refusing

to put the question on a motion du'y made and seconded, and compelled Dr. Drennan to discharge his duty to the Society, by putting the question on the motion so made and seconded. The Hon. Simon Butler *being then right*, was justly supported by the *majority of the Members present*. But when the Hon. Simon Butler, as President afterwards, assumed to himself the arbitrary power which he had condemned in Dr. Drennan, of refusing to put the question on the motion of *Exoneration*, although duly made and seconded, the Members present were guilty of an unmanly surrender of their rights, in not copying the spirited conduct of Mr. E. C. Keane, who called the Hon. President to order, and reminded him of his own conduct to the former President, Drennan, on a similar occasion. Had the principle of moral equality been understood and practised in the Society, the Members then present would have been guided by their own reason; they would *not* have tacitly assented to what they knew to be *wrong*; they would have gloried in teaching *Hon. Arrogance*, that they were in earnest in their contempt of *absurd distinctions*, and an unanimous vote of censure would have for ever disqualified the same person from again disgracing the President's Chair, or insulting the Society, by opposing his *own will*, or rather his mandate, to the collective will and sense of the Society. As the Society acted in that instance, they proved that they were influenced by *Leaders*, and *not by just principles*, and they have sunk accordingly in their own opinion and that of the public.

Men who place their political *faith* in *words*, may deem that an Act of Parliament can at once make a people FREE. I have no such opinion. Unless an Act of Parliament could give men wings, it could not enable them to fly. In like manner, no act of the Legislature can make men free who have not a disposition to be free, that is, who continually shew, by their thrusting forward individuals into a kind of *petty Sovereignty*, that they look *not for freedom*, but a *change of masters*.

A cripple confined by incurable lameness to one position in his chair, or a person bedridden by age and infirmity who would complain of the grievance of not being suffered by his friends to run a foot race, would be considered a fool or a madman. The United Irishmen, who tamely beheld the freedom of their Society violated by Simon Butler, and thus

thus proved themselves incapable of exercising that liberty which they possessed, seriously complain of the narrow circle to which their political liberty is abridged. Yet these men are charged with *Republican principles* ! These *self-enslaved* men, many of whom would doom me to the halter or guillotine, for the unpardonable crime of a *republican contempt* for their leaders, those *little Kings*, against whose despicable misrule I first had the courage to lift the finger of scorn, and whose imaginary thrones and sceptres I glory in having broken in the presence of my offended country.

I have ever been of opinion, that public virtue and private worth are *STERLING* qualities, which, like pure gold, ought every where to be received at an *equal value*.

They are not to be enhanced by rank, by family, or by hereditary fortune. Their intrinsic value receives no addition from the splendour of a throne, nor is it lessened in the person of a citizen or trader. It is for the superior power and the disposition to do good that the higher orders ought to be respected. If they either neglect or abuse that power they ought not to be respected.

When this grand and simple principle is adopted in our popular associations not as a *dead letter to acquire popularity* or a *barren precept to ornament a piece of declamation*, but as a practice necessary for political salvation of Ireland—when the real friends of the people so far overcome their pride and their prejudices, as to enforce an observance of this *MORAL EQUALITY*, and themselves to set an *example of it*—then, and not until then, will the different sects of Irishmen be impelled to break down their walls of separation, and to come forward in pursuit of *REFORM* as a *COMMON OBJECT—A COMMON GOOD*.

I repeat it, when the real friends of the people acquire courage enough to offer up their pride and their prejudices as a noble sacrifice for the good of their country,---when they exemplify in their actions this *MORAL EQUALITY*, which is in union with every form of government---a principle which must enforce a *due* reverence for *King, Lords, and Commons*,---and which constitutes the *firmest support* and *proudest glory* of republican America---a principle which does homage to the laws,---violates no established order, and which, by giving an *equal estimation to virtue and public spirit*

spirit in every class of men---must enkindle in every class of men an equal emulation of virtue and public spirit--- When this principle is carried into effect, then, and not until then, will our *divided* millions cement into *popular mass*---then will they forget the local animosities and the ruinous distinctions which set county against county, township against township, and Irishman against Irishman.

That UNION which is now but an empty name used to cover an unmanly and deceitful aristocracy—a sordid separation of interests, and a dishonest monopoly of rights.—That UNION which is now shrunk to a feeble and suspected remnant---disgraced and become a bye word of shame with the great body of the people; panick struck, and paralysed by the miserable finesse of party---that UNION which impedes its own progress and which charges upon the *public apathy and terror* its own retrograde progression---that UNION which lately effected to idolize a shew of public spirit in two or three of its aristocratic leaders, and which fought to villify, persecute, and oppress in the Printer, Carey, that public spirit which it thankfully recognized and witnessed---thus unwisely 'delegating to the few--public virtue and the glory of public virtue, with the task of supporting the weighty interests of the many---thus unwisely depressing public virtue in the many, by taking away from them that glory which rewards and excites to public virtue---that union must then rise above the disgraceful littlenesses which obscure it. It must become a *national spirit*—a spirit active, tranquil and irresistible—it must succeed by the force of a *general undivided and reciprocal interest*—the only principle by which the whole of a people can ever be brought to act as *one body*, with *one soul*, in *one common cause*.

I have not taken up this opinion merely to serve the present question; it appears in the following extract from the *Prospectus of the National Evening Star* which I wrote in August, 1791.

Extract. " A general, undivided, and reciprocal interest, affording a general, individual, and reciprocal protection, is the only firm basis of good government; liable to change in its forms, but immutable and incorruptible in its essential principle of impartial general protection. The cruel policy of insidious,

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power

power, has ever sought to *establish the security of oppressors in every country, by splitting the strength of the people into partial, unequal, and opposite interests.*"-----

The author of many papers published by the Society of United Irishmen, has among other of my thoughts stolen from the above; but in disguising his plagiarism, has fallen into an evident absurdity. In the address of the society of United Irishmen to the Scotch delegates for reform, Nov. 23, 1792, he asserts that, "an *inalterable* constitution, *whatever be its nature, must be* DESPOTISM."---The plagiarist here, has utterly confounded my obvious meaning. This arises from his mistaking *forms* for *principles*; an error into which he is continually betrayed, and which is common to all *bigots*, religious or political. The *essential principle* of an impartial general protection in a good government, ought *not* to be *mutable*. The *form* under which that principle is found to be most purely administered, ought *not* to be altered. The writer in question, asserts, "an *inalterable constitution, whatever be its nature, must be* despotism." Is not this saying—"an *inalterable constitution, however, just in principle and practice, must be* despotism."---Turn this hardy assertion how you will, it still retains its real features of *unintelligible contradictory nonsense*. --- It is plain the Doctor here applied to the FORMS of government, a sense which I applied to its *essential principles*. The one from the nature of man, *must be ever open to change* and ought to be changed for the better, until the best form shall be fixed upon. The other ought ever to be *inalterable*. It is to be understood here that I speak of government in *general*.

The same writer in the address to the Volunteers, has the following singular and equally obscure passage: "In four words lies all our power; UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATURE, yet we are confident on the *pivot* of this principle, a Convention (meaning the one which was to have met at Athlone) still less,—a Society, (meaning the society of United Irishmen of Dublin) less still—a single man (modestly meaning the *doctor himself*) will be able first to move, and then to raise the world." I know not to what class of readers this is addressed.—If to the multitude, I fear not one in ten thousand will be able

to extract any meaning out of it.—If to men of superior leading and understanding, I am of opinion that they will be only convinced that the writer in question is singularly unfortunate in his plagiarisms. We here meet with the sublime and just assertion of Archimedes, repeated in Paine's first part of the Rights of Man, and stolen by the author of the address to the Volunteers, but so misunderstood and obscured in the attempt to disguise it, as to bid defiance to interpretation.

“ In four words lies all our power.”—The writer here attaches the same importance to *words* which in the former instance he applies to *forms*. It is ever so with a narrow mind on the stretch for something great---rarely successful in displaying it. It is this reliance on *words* which has reduced the Society of United Irishmen to insignificance, while the question of reform like the stone of Sisyphus, has continually rolled back in ruin so upon many of its agitators.

It is not by any set phrase or number of *cabalistical words*, but by just and manly actions---it is not by cold and servile *forms*, but by pure and impartial *principles* that the question of reform can succeed.

The assertion of Archimedes, as applied by Mr. Paine to the moral world, is a forcible illustration of his general argument. It has been wholly misunderstood by the author of the address to the Volunteers. Being mentally shortsighted, he has mistaken the *effect* for the *cause*.

Paine is of opinion that truth has sufficient force every where to influence men to their advantage, but for the power of prejudice. His meaning is obviously this---“ If we had a ground of *public confidence to stand upon*, that is, if we could convince men *by a correspondence between our actions and words*, that *we really had their interest at heart*---they would attend to truth without prejudice, *they would have no suspicion of our views*, and by the force of just principles we could move the world.”

But Mr. Paine does not write nonsense---he does not say he would be able to move men to *what they wish to have*, by *what they have not*. Nor does he mean a movement of the world *merely to shew his power without any end in view*. The subject he treats of is *Liberty*, and it is to *that great object* he would move the world. He does not crie out in the
affected

affected cant, of a *political juggler*—" *All our power lies in one word---* or in two words, or in *any form of words.*" That would be to speak of principles, as of a muttering wizard's spell, or a witch's incantation. We ought not to speak of truth and principle as confined to the power of *words*, but as a due combination of *precept* and *practice*. The one being as necessary to the other, as the *soul* is to the *existence* of the *body*. The shameless pandar of corruption, and the infamous trader in prostitution, have often their mouths filled with *virtuous precepts*. Are they more virtuous for this? Do they not thus only add hypocrisy to their other crimes? If we are to judge of men's principles from their professions, the leaders of the United Irishmen are the most virtuous of men. By the same rule there never was a wicked *minister* yet, but must appear to have in view the good of his country, and the general welfare of mankind.

Truth and principle as terms significant of the moral quality of an argument, may be applied to speech or writing.

Truth and principle, as terms implying the *moral character* of an individual, are not applicable, unless found in his *actions*. We cannot say that Dr. Drennan is a man of principle from his writings only. In these we can only see a considerable share of ability and much recollection evinced in many specious professions. Before we can justly say, that Dr. Drennan is a man of truth and principle, as a public character, it ought to be proved that there is a general conformity between his political *professions* and his *actions*. Let the public judge of him by his conduct to me.

The author of the address to the volunteers, laudably endeavouring at something very great, and not finding the materials within himself, *steals* from Tom Paine, and *not understanding the principle* of what he stole gravely tells the nation in *four wonderful words*, *lies all his power* and the power of the society---" UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATURE," with these, he and the Society will be able to move the world! To what truly? To the object which the Society seeks for, and which it has not, UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, and REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATURE."

Is not this a driveller telling a community of beggars, "in four words lies all my power, money, merchandize, land, chattels"---yet upon the pivot of this principle, will we be able first to move and then to raise money, merchandize, land, chattels."-----

"This precious eloquence does not prove that the writer has any great power; but that his power is confined to words: a power which he has pretty successfully employed these eighteen months past, namely, to move the great body of *respectable citizens to quit the Society*.

But though he is prudently willing to confine his *own power* to WORDS, he in the same publication, calls on the body which he addresses---"to answer him by *actions*." The English of this is---"I will *speak* and *write*, which with a little caution, *I can do with safety to myself*, and do you, Mr. Printer, answer by *printing* and *publishing*---which may be attended with the *pillory, imprisonment, fine, or transportation*.

"Do you, gentlemen volunteers, answer me by *actions*---come forward in arms, in the teeth of the proclamation from the Privy Council, forbidding the assembly of armed bodies---I will sound the *alarm*---do you meet the danger---no matter of what kind it is---the military may be ordered out against you; you may be slaughtered or taken and doomed to the gallows; I shall take care of myself---I shall have my writing copied to send to the printer, or I shall get back my manuscript time enough to escape prosecution, and after that the printer may meet the storm as well as he can. The more he suffers, the greater noise my name will make, and the more famous shall I grow by the enquiries after the author."

What sort of an *identity of interests* is this, which seeks to give honour to one of its members for writing a matter; by the publication of which, another of its members is brought to ruin, exposed to fine, the pillory, confinement or banishment for life? What sort of a *brotherhood of affection* can it be, which could induce a society to close its eyes and to sear its feelings to the situation of a man whom it had involved in these difficulties? What sort of men must they be, who could assent to expel him from their body, at the moment when every hour was expected to be that which might plunge him in a prison for the remainder of his days? What malignity

malignity of heart must he have, who being the author of a writing, by publishing which, a well-meaning man was forced from his establishment, and rendered liable to fine, imprisonment, perhaps transportation---what sort of a depraved, base, and cowardly nature must he have, to rise, and in the absence of his victim, seek to rob him of friends, character, and support, and to cast him into a prison, spotted and leprous like a common felon?—

About three weeks after my receiving Mr. Rowan's letter in Glasnevin, I heard that he was in town, and as he did not call on me as promised in his letter—I went to a meeting of the Society of United Irishmen, expecting to see him there. I did see Mr. Rowan there. He spoke to me on the subject of my letter, repeating that it was unnecessary to bring it forward, as he believed the society would *not attend to any OLD engagements or CLAIMS upon it*—that it was besides *embarrassed by present exertions*. I observed that my situation was hard indeed—that the public had an opinion I was surrounded by friends in the society—that I might perhaps, without much temerity, considering the principles *professed* by the society, have expected to meet friends among them. That the Freedom of the Press and the necessity of supporting it, were on every occasion brought forward, as prime objects of the society's regard—that the support of the liberty of the press, could not apply to its wooden materials or to the metal types—but to the printer, by whose agency they were rendered serviceable—and whose industry and principles, converted it into a bulwark of the public liberty. That I wanted but the small sum of ONE HUNDRED or even FIFTY POUNDS to re-establish a printing-house, and that I would repay that sum either in such printing as *might be safe* for me to print for the society, or in cash, at such periods as might be convenient to me. Mr. Rowan agreed in the propriety of my remarks—he owned that my situation was hard—that the liberty of the press was a primary object with the society---that *it ought to support me*, but in fact the *funds were exhausted*---that the money came in slowly, and that the exertions of the society must be confined to discharge TWO HUNDRED POUNDS, which *were yet due* for WINE DRANK IN NEWGATE.*

The veil here fell, and the MYSTERIOUS CAUSE

of

* I suppose: During the Hon. Simon Butler's confinement

of the *violated engagement* of the Society in the case of the prosecution for the article from the *Northern Star*, was fully developed !—The leaders of the Society of United Irishmen, stood before me, divested of all disguise, in their real characters—Much as I had seen of them before, I could not have foreseen this, from the men who solemnly came forward in the presence of God, and pledged themselves to labour for a reform of every species of corrupt influence, and who so *eloquently declaim* against the PRO-FUSION of the PUBLIC MONEY. I could no have expected that these men would have abandoned the PRESS and the PRINTER, for the WINE CASK, the COOK, and VINTNER. Confounded, astonished, disgusted at this piece of extraordinary information, I paused to observe in Mr. Rowan's countenance, what his sentiment were—Mr. Rowan said little more than to repeat his condemnation of the APATHY of the PEOPLE. Our conversation ended.

When any good is produced by the SPIRIT of the PEOPLE—"WE—WE *did* it," cry the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen—"WE effected Catholic emancipation—we did this—we did that—we are the apostles of reform—the saviours of our country—the sole men who ever pursued the good of the people with spirit and perseverance."

But when by their own rashness, imbecility and misconduct, the LEADERS have occasioned any injury to the nation, then it is all thrown upon the APATHY, the *want* of SPIRIT, and the TERRORS of the PEOPLE.

The memorable advertisement which appeared in the *Hibernian Journal* in the beginning of December, 1792; summoning the old members of the merchant's corps to resume their arms for the purpose of effecting a reform in Parliament, and a removal of other grievances WAS PLANNED BY THE SAME LEADERS, who afterwards brought out the address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers, and who fixed upon the *pernicious device* of a *harp without a crown* in the button and cockade of the *National battalion*.

If any United Irishman has a doubt of this assertion let him look at the *seal of his certificate*, and he will find in it enough to convince him of the truth of it. When these
egregious

egregious errors had furnished a handle for the proclamation ; for the prostration of our national forces, the volunteers ; for the gunpowder bill ; the convention bill ; the committal of Tandy ; of Rowan ; of Carey ; of the Dublin printers ; of the twelve proprietors of the Northern Star ; of Dr Hargrove, of Limerick ; of O'Connor of Sligo—When all this was done, and while it was effecting, the cry was changed “ the leaders did not then come forward to *claim their share* in this *precious business*—they did not then say “ WE DID THIS OR WE DID THAT.” The MEDICAL PIVOT, who modestly some months before vaunted his capacity, first “ to *raise, and then to move the world,*” then changed his tone. The *terrors*, the *apathy*, and the *want of spirit in the people*, were assigned as the causes of all these misfortunes. (See address to Bond and Butler.)

These wise politicians did not say, “ our ignorance, our rashness, and our weakness, furnished a handle to government, for effecting these different acts.” No. They were still patriots in the same sense as before ; shewing their zeal in declaiming against government, and dwelling on their own public spirit, wisdom and disinterested perseverance. On all previous occasions they sought the LEAD. Now they shrunk back upon their followers, terrified at the storm which they had themselves raised, and at the very moment, while their own fears were at the height, their clamours were every where heard against the terrors, the apathy, and the want of spirit in the people.

As it is publicly known that I appeared in the streets of Dublin in the uniform of the memorable *National Battalion* on the very day on which the proclamation was issued against the assembling of armed bodies. It is necessary for me to remark that I, from the first, condemned the device of the *batton and cockade*. This was a harp surmounted by the cap of liberty, the *Royal Crown being omitted* : the legend being simply “ *First National Battalion.*” Altho' the disapprobation of the device was general, the spirit of *leadership* operated so powerfully, as usual that the members were content to express their sentiments of it in private, not choosing to appear in open opposition to the great names, who had fixed on this *pernicious fancy*. From this circumstance it happened that I could not get one to second a motion to abolish the

the device which I made in the committee, of the *First National Battalion*, of which I was a member. On this occasion I was charged with a want of personal firmness. Immediately after, the court journals asserted that the device of the *national guards*, as they miscalled them, was chosen by a republican faction which had shewed its designs, by *putting down the crown* in the button and cockade—They also asserted that the legend was “*LIBERTY, and EQUALITY, and NO KING.*”—When this falsehood became general, it would have been impolitic to have changed the device, until the members of the corps, by appearing individually in the streets and public places, had disproved the assertion. I advised this and I appeared in the uniform of the national battalion, in town, on the day of the proclamation, without any hesitation, as did Mr. Rowan, and four other persons. On this occasion it was singular enough that the persons who attributed my opposition to the device, to a want of firmness, were themselves intimidated by the proclamation, from appearing in the uniform. The most violent of them walked in coloured clothes with me that day.

At the next meeting of the *First National Battalion*, altho’ the personal influence of the Leaders was privately exerted to induce me to drop my opposition, yet I again brought forward the motion, which was seconded by Counsellor Donovan, to abolish the device on the button and cockade, and although the whole of the Leaders stood against me, yet for once, common sense prevailed, and on a division, my motion was carried by a considerable majority. Still however by referring the choice of a new button and cockade to a Committee, it was delayed until it was too late to be of service.

After the leaders had, in trying political experiments, completely lost the public confidence, and excited a general disgust, they were still incorrigibly blind to the *cause*. They could not discover that it was owing to their acting in opposition to the *public sentiment*. Instead of taking their tone from the *people*, they imperiously and foolishly laboured to make the *people* take a tone from them. Failing in this, they proceeded to censure the people, as weak, pusillanimous, and insensible of their real interests. Of this, the following is a curious specimen :

Extract—“Gentlemen your country is much your debtor. (That is, *your country has paid one thousand pounds* for

for your fine, and nearly as much more for supporting you six months in Newgate.) But we must suppose you, by this time, too well experienced in the mutability of public opinion, (meaning, you must by this time be convinced that we have lost the public confidence and that public opinion is against us,) to expect that she will, for the present acknowledge the debt—much less return the obligation; (that is, as we have exhausted the funds of the Society, the present would be an improper time to make a fresh attack upon the pockets of the members;) that she will either sympathize with what you have suffered, or partake in our heart-felt joy at your enlargement) indeed you will scarcely now know your country, in a few months so much altered. (Meaning our furnishing a handle for the prostration of the volunteers, for the gunpowder bill, the convention bill, for the fine, imprisonment, and exile of a number of individuals has flung back the question of reform an immeasurable distance, and has confounded and dismayed the nation, which a few months before was possessed of the capacity and the spirit legally and constitutionally to obtain the object of her petition.) Indisposed to condole or to congratulate, desponding without reason, exhausted without effort, she sits on the ground in a fit of mental alienation, unconscious of her real malady, scared at every whisper;—[the writer here means *his own fears* ;]—her thousand ears open for falsehoods from abroad, her thousand eyes shut against the truth at home; worked up by false suggestions and artful insinuations, to such a madness of suspicion, as makes her mistake her dearest friends for her deadliest foes, [meaning the Leaders of the United Irishmen,] and to revile the only Society, [still meaning the Leaders of the Society of United Irishmen,] which ever pursued her welfare with spirit and perseverance, as “*attempting at her life with the torch of an incendiary and the dagger of an assassin.*” —(For this extract, see the Address of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin to the Hon. Simon Butler, and Oliver Bond, Esq.

The reputed author of the Address to the Volunteers here fairly confesses the result of his valuable labours. In the quaint and elaborate figure which concludes the above *energetic* passage, he acknowledges, that the *wonderful powers* of his *four words* have after almost two years intense application, happily

happily contrived to bring the *popular question of Reform* into *disrepute*, and to brand the friends of union with the detestable character of incendiaries and assassins, aiming to lift themselves into notice upon the ruins of their country.

Yet all this time the sagacious writer never discovers the cause of their being looked on as *incendiaries* and *assassins*. —He never suspects the weakness of his *pivot*, which he vaunted a few months before, was *first to move and then to raise the world*. No, he continues to throw the whole censure on the people, of whom he proceeds to speak in the same paper thus: "From a *public* thus inquisitive about the affairs of other people, thus incurious about its own, (that is, from a public thus inquisitive about affairs in which it feels *itself* concerned; thus incurious about what *we* are doing, whom it has learned to despise)—thus *deluded*, we were going to say, in language of high authority, thus *besotted*, we appeal for *your fame*, and *our own justification*, &c. &c.

In all this we see the character which marks the proceedings of these leaders: a lust of monopolizing the credit of the patriotic spirit of the people, and a practice of throwing the blame of their own rashness and imbecility on the public. In the above remarks on the Address to Messrs. Butler and Bond, I would not be understood *at all to implicate the latter with the former*. Mr. Bond I esteem as a man of known probity and good intentions. He is by no means answerable for any part of the conduct chalked out for him. I am of opinion that no man has the welfare of his country more sincerely at heart than he has. Perhaps it would have been much better for the public, that his name and that of the honourable Gentleman had never been coupled as political partners.

The *Abbe Vertot* speaks of a *Turkish Visier* who lost his place by the following trivial incident, in which he betrayed a want of judgment. A renegade cutler from Toledo, in the service of *Solyman* the Magnificent, presented to the Emperor two pocket knives, as specimens of the superior workmanship of his country. The blade of the one was of a most exquisite polish, inwrought with many rare and curious devices, as also was the handle, which was of the purest gold, enriched with precious stones. The blade of the other was plain, less nicely polished, and the handle without ornament, of common

common ivory. The Emperor and all his Officers were struck with the beauty and extraordinary workmanship of the former; but on trying the blade, he found that the artist, in seeking to give an unusual finishing to it, had rendered the steel so brittle as made it impossible to preserve an edge. He therefore threw it aside, and retained the plain knife, which he found of the very best temper. The Visier, without consideration, ventured to express his astonishment at this conduct. *Solyman* looking at him with an expression of contempt, dismissed him from his office, saying, "I prefer that plainness which is useful, to useless ornament; the instrument cannot be of value, which does not answer the end for which it is designed—the judgment is too feeble to manage an empire, which in the common occasions of life prefers shew to utility."

This little anecdote ought to furnish a salutary hint to our popular Associations, who prefer *sound* to *sense*. The Emperor was right. The knife which cannot retain an edge, or which by being sharper on the back, cuts the person who uses it—ought to be laid aside. In like manner, common sense directs every man to lay aside any instrument that does not answer the end for which it was formed. The same argument applies to the pen of a writer. If he undertakes to support a question, and after exercising his talents for eight, nine, or twelve months, it appears that the question which he undertook to support, has not acquired *strength*; that instead of advancing in the public opinion, its motion is retrograde, and that material injury to individuals has resulted from his attempts, it would be folly to continue employing the *same pen*, and equally wrong to appreciate the merits of such a man, as a writer, from any laboured ornaments of style apparent in his writings—that would be to praise a man as a fine writer who has injured a cause by writing for it.

It will be said that I here fall into the *vulgar error* of judging an event by its want of success. I deny it. That would be unfair indeed. I have in the outset of this work and every page of it proved myself a decided friend to Reform. It would be wrong to judge of the *moral quality* of any action by the event. But it is just to form our judgment of the *physical powers* employed in an action by the event. If it succeeds, we say "the means were well applied, and equal to the end proposed." If it fails, we say "the means were

ill applied, or unequal to the end proposed, altho' the *intention* was *just*." In both cases we give the praise or censure to the *agent* or person employing the means in question.

If we employ mechanical powers to raise a weight, and find we cannot raise it, we never think of throwing the blame on the weight—we ascribe it justly to *our own want of due powers*. In like manner, when we find a writer aiming to influence the people more strongly to certain points, as for example, to Union and to Reform, *to which they were predisposed*—if we find that his labours have had little other effect than that of converting the *prepossession* of the people for these questions, into a *prepossession against* them, or more properly speaking, into a fear of pursuing them, and into a belief that the friends of these questions are "*incendiaries and assassins*."—[See *Address to Bond and Butler*.]—We naturally say, "this man might mean well, but he certainly *wants powers*, or his powers have been perverted. His writings prove him to possess much industry; but they are *too abstracted* and are misunderstood and misinterpreted by the multitude."—Swift wrote his celebrated Draper's Letters to prevent the introduction of Wood's Halfpence—he succeeded. Paine wrote his "Common Sense," to induce the Americans to declare themselves independent of England—he succeeded. Junius's Letters were levelled at an inconsistent and ambitious party. *Junius* triumphed. In all these cases the intentions of these writers were just, and they *proved their powers* by their *success* to be *equal to the ends proposed*.

The writer of the Address to the Volunteers, and I his friends, throwing the blame of his own incapacity, to influence public opinion, upon the *People*, at whose understandings he takes aim, is an *excellent jest*. It reminds me of a story, which with all due deference to the sublime Genius whom I treat of, I will relate. A sagacious sportsman being asked what game he had killed after several days spent in shooting, replied, that he met plenty of game but *did not kill any thing*. His friend rallying him on being a *bad shot*, the sportsman gravely assured him, "it was not the case; no man was a *better shot*; the fault did not lie in him, but in the *birds*, who *wanted steadiness* to lie in the way of his shot, or he would kill plenty of them."

Unfortunately our Medical Gunner has not only missed his aim, but by overloading his political piece, occasioned it

it to burst among his friends, to the no small terror, overthrowing, and wounding divers Printers, Volunteers, and United Irishmen.—The after-conduct of the writer in question in moving my expulsion, may be compared to that of a Captain of a Troop after battle, moving to have his wounded soldiers expelled the infirmary.

Without weighing the *intention*, in almost every *issue* depending on talents, spirit, and judgment, we justly estimate the professional character of the *agent*, from his *success*, or *want of success*. Thus we pronounce *Washington* a *good general*, because he proved *successful*; and *Rodney* a *good admiral* because he proved *successful*—but on the contrary, had they proved *unsuccessful*, we would have pronounced the one to be a *bad* or *unfortunate general*—the other a *bad* or *unfortunate admiral*. This character not including an approbation or censure of the cause in which they were engaged. We as justly say of a writer, who is *successful*, that is, who *obtains the coincidence of public opinion*, in removing a common prejudice or obtaining a *national benefit*, that he is a *good writer*, and the contrary, if he proves *unsuccessful*, altho' we approve of the cause which he professes to serve.

By this rule, if we try the literary merits of Dr. Drennan, as *a man who aimed to influence public opinion*, in favour of a cause, his fancied reputation falls instantly to the ground. He confesses, and the nation knows, that the only influence he obtained, operated *against the cause he undertook to support*. The truth is his name, as a writer first emanated from a narrow circle, of which *his own opinion* was the centre. To this circle he first reads his profound and elaborate compositions: his air and tone of satisfaction fully expressing that he understands his own meaning. His hearers are of course ashamed to appear to misunderstand what is so clear to him. They think, that to ask an explanation would be to *betray a want of capacity in themselves*. On these occasions, some one of his audience, who aspires to the praise of superior judgment, begins by answering some passage where the author looks round with a more particular air of self-importance, by an exclamation of *fine! very fine!*—Another, unwilling to appear inferior in taste, keeps up the chorus of applause, with an exclamation of *Excellent!*—*Most excellent!*—and a third falls into raptures at his *profundity of thought! sublimity of expression!* and the *perpetual glow and energy of his style!*

This learned group thus charged with admiration of his unequalled powers is let off upon the Society of United Irishmen,

Irishmen, and then upon the public. In the Society it works wonders. The leading men give the *signal* exclamation, and immediately, "*Fine! fine! very fine!*" runs round the room. The audience listens absorbed in reverence, and as the poet happily expresses it—"They wonder with a *foolish face of praise*"—each man looks *enquiry*, almost ashamed to ask his own heart the meaning of what he hears, and still more ashamed to confess to his fellow his own *want of taste and understanding* for such *fine writing*.

Drop the head of a pin into a vase of water, and it will begin to agitate the surface in small circles, until these circles encrease to the extreme extent of the vessel. An insignificant matter will produce this effect in any small body of water. The breath of a child can do it, but a mightier power is requisite to agitate a lake, a sea, or the majestic bosom of the ocean. In like manner Drennan could agitate the surface of the small circle to which the Society of United Irishmen is confined; but when he attempted to move the people, his efforts were unavailing, or only productive of pernicious consequences. It may not be amiss for this man to consult the file which appears in these remarks, and when he finds in a few plain arguments, how easily I have signed the *death warrant* of his *literary character*, he will perhaps learn, that to be understood by the multitude is not the last merit a writer ought to aspire to.

On the same evening that Mr. Rowan mentioned the **TWO HUNDRED POUNDS then DUE FOR WINE DRANK in NEWGATE**, he told me he had some money in his hands for me, being a few guineas of the **PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION**. I begged of Mr. Rowan not to notice it then, on account of our being in the meeting of the Society. He then requested to know where he would send it to me. I again excused myself, by begging Mr. Rowan not to trouble himself about such a trifle; but on coming out of the Society Mr. Rowan clapt in my hand **FOUR GUINEAS**, and quitted me immediately without any conversation whatever. And here closes the **SECOND ACT** of the **FARCE** of the **PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION**, or the *Freedom of the Press supported*; a full warning to future printers, by which they will know how to regulate their conduct in all party matters, in which I am of opinion the printer has *all* to risk as an individual, and very little if any prospect of gain, save insult, calumny, and abandonment.

On

On going home that night, I gave Mr. Rowan credit for *four guineas*, and reserved the moment of his settling his account with me for a candid explanation of my sentiments of the treatment which I had received.

At the moment when I experienced this *liberal* and *gentlemanly* support from the Leaders of the Body which had involved me, I had due to me in different parts of the kingdom for advertisements and subscriptions to the National Evening Star, considerable sums, which I could not myself appear to claim, through the difficulties which surrounded me. Many of the persons thus indebted to me have taken advantage of my situation to dispute and refuse payment, otherwise I might have had the means to establish a newspaper without any other assistance.

At this time it was the opinion of almost every person who knew the scandalous treatment which I had experienced from the leaders of the Society, and how far I was involved by them, that I ought to consult my own safety and that of my family, by quitting the country. I resisted advice from all quarters to this effect, although it was firmly believed, that if I had withdrawn myself, there was honesty enough in the Body of the Society to prevent my two sureties Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright, from being distressed for the penalty in which they were bound for my appearance, to take my trial for publishing the Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers. I however had my doubts, and was resolved to leave nothing untried to induce the Society to pledge itself to pay the penalty in which its two Members were bound. This if possible I was resolved to do before I withdrew into banishment, although in a conversation which I at that time had with Mr. Rourke, an United Irishman, (whom I have already mentioned) he gave me to understand, that Surgeon Wright, one of my sureties, had declared, that I might quit the kingdom whenever I pleased.

* Aware from all the circumstances which I have related, that the measure would be opposed by the LAWYERS and LEADERS of the Society, I was necessitated to conduct myself with all the precaution of a person about to take an out-post by *surprise*. I foresaw that the moment the motion to EXONERATE Mr. MATHEWS and SURGEON WRIGHT would be brought forward, it would be opposed by men interested to appropriate the funds of the Society to
OTHER

OTHER EXERTIONS, that is to *abandon the printer and the press*, and to convert the means of the Society to the more meritorious service of the *wine cask*.—I foresaw these RUMP and DOZEN PATRIOTS would all raise a clamour against me. I was acquainted with their influence over the well-meaning men who deemed them as honest as themselves; and I had seen enough to be assured that they would make no scruple to abuse that influence for any paltry purpose of their own.

Thus feeling the delicacy of my situation, I saw that the measure had little prospect of success in the first outset, unless from my own endeavours. I accordingly commenced my proceedings by going round the town, at the hazard of an arrest, personally applying to the different Members on the business, *for four days, previous to the 11th of Oct.*

I felt the necessity of keeping the measure a secret from the *Lawyers and Leaders* until the very moment of bringing it forward. I knew that if I requested any of the Members to keep it a secret from the Lawyers and Leaders in whom at that time they confided, my doing so might have the contrary effect, of divulging it. Thus I was necessitated to trust to chance for keeping it from the knowledge of the administration of the society. But I took care not to apply to any of the Members in habits of intimacy with Counsellor Mac Nally, the hon. Simon Butler, the Sheares's, or indeed with any of the Lawyers of the Society.

It is to be remembered that the *coincidence of opinion* which I obtained in my applications, was neither by *force* nor *stratagem*, for I had no *power to terrify*, no *artifice to cajole*, no *fund to seduce**. I appeared without *mace* or *beadle*, neither a placeman nor a pensioner, nor a city officer.

In the PUBLIC APPROBATION of my PAST CONDUCT lay ALL MY POWER. In serving the public, I had been subjected by the Society of United Irishmen to IMPRISONMENT and FINE—or to EXILE.—All I requested was a CHOICE of these EVILS. I mentioned simply that a motion would be made on the ensuing Friday evening, to exonerate Mr. MATHEWS and SURGEON WRIGHT, two of *their Brother United Irishmen*, from the payment of the small penalty of TWO HUNDRED POUNDS, (should it be demanded) in which they were

* See Address to the Volunteers for these expressions.

bound for my appearance, to take my trial for printing and publishing the Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers. And as that Society stood pledged to support me under all the consequences of said publication, which were expected to be a heavy fine of perhaps five hundred or a thousand pounds, and an imprisonment of two, three, or four years, I submitted to each person's own judgment the propriety or impropriety of supporting the motion to exonerate my two sureties, as a measure less expensive to the Society, and absolutely necessary for my safety, as well as that it was my immediate choice. On this occasion I found *no* ARGUMENT NECESSARY. Both *honesty* and *policy* pointed out to the men behind their counters what they ought to do. Every person to whom I applied at once observed, that it was much better for the Society to pledge itself to the payment of the penalty of *two hundred pounds*, which might after all *not be demanded*, than to abide the certain consequences of a trial expected to prove so much more expensive to the Society. I mention this as a proof of the integrity of the men of business in the United Irishmen: I am confident that if they had to decide for themselves, they would have done me justice. Unfortunately they were not proof against the HONOURABLE ARROGANCE and PETTIFOGGING CHICANERY of their *Rump and Dozen Leaders*, who alone are chargeable with originating the tricking dishonesty of the memorable night of exoneration, and the whole of the proceedings against me.

On the day preceding the intended motion, I wrote to Surgeon Wright, requesting an interview with him next day on a matter of particular importance. We accordingly met at the house of one of my friends, when I mentioned the intention of bringing forward a motion to exonerate him and Mr. Mathews, and requested to know if he would be satisfied with it, as *I would not proceed in it unless I had his permission and support*. Surgeon Wright declared that he was fully satisfied with the measure; he thanked me for the communication, and promised to attend the meeting, in order to give every support in his power to the motion.

We are now arrived at the memorable night of EXONERATION, the 11th of October, 1793, on which the *real character*, and *views* of the Leaders of the Society of United

United Irishmen were so fully displayed in their own actions, and on which the claims of the Society on public confidence, while under the guidance of these men, were for ever forfeited.

NIGHT of EXONERATION, OA. 11, 1793.

On going into the Meeting of the Society, I took Mr. Mathews aside and informed him, that the necessary application to other Members had delayed me so late that evening as to prevent my calling at his house. I then communicated to him the intended motion, and assured him that *I would not bring it forward unless he was fully satisfied with the measure.* The worthy old man declared himself fully satisfied, and pledged himself to support the motion as far as the delicacy of his situation would permit. I received his consent with more pleasure because I had many anxious fears that he would not have so readily complied, from his knowledge of almost all the circumstances already related, in which he must have seen the evident indisposition of the Leaders of the Society to any measure which did not immediately tend to *appropriate the funds of the Society to OTHER EXERTIONS*, than that of extricating a printer from the difficulties in which it had involved him.

I next applied to a Mr. Nicholas Butler, an honest and well-meaning man, of whom I have so good an opinion, as to believe that he would not either do or say any thing contrary to his judgment. Although this is certainly a character which very many great Statesmen have not deserved, I would not be understood to confine the merits of Mr. Butler to this negative propriety. I have not met with any man more zealous and active in whatever relates to the interests of the common cause. I have had so many proofs of this that I am pleased with this opportunity of expressing my esteem for a man whose conduct as a United Irishman is regulated by the purest principles of patriotism. If probity and plain good sense held their due weight in that Society, this man would do honour to the President's chair, which is now deemed to derive a puny consequence from the supercilious ostentation of his *honourable namesake*. The ill consequences produced by the spirit of leadership, which occur in the course of this work, will, I hope, tend to divest Mr.

Mr. N. Butler of his *prejudices*, which, without his perceiving it at times, influence him in favour of *popular names* and *leaders*, contrary to his better sense. When however it is remembered that this is a *national characteristic*, it must be evident that I do not mean any disrespect to the worthy man of whom I am speaking, and whose many good qualities I am justly sensible of.

It was to this man I applied to bring forward the motion of EXONERATION. He seemed more fitted for the purpose, because of his long intimacy with Mr. Mathews, and because I was of opinion that he would not be readily silenced into a desertion of the question if he once brought it forward. Mr. N. Butler not only immediately assented to the propriety and necessity of the motion, but he paid me some handsome compliments on what he seemed to think the honourable mode in which I had requested the permission of Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright to bring it forward. He appeared flattered with the preference which I gave him of making the motion, but said he feared that his want of weight in the Society might occasion it to fail in his hands, and on that account he urged the propriety of requesting Mr. ROWAN to bring it forward. I observed that as the measure was a fair one, I hoped that the Society would attend to it, not because of the rank and fortune of the person who brought it forward, but on account of its justice and propriety. Mr. N. Butler agreed in this remark, but still wished it to be brought forward by some person of more weight, as he felt too much interested in the success of the motion, both on Mr. Mathews's account, who was his old and intimate friend, and on my account, to whom he deemed the measure justly due. He added, that so far from having an objection to making the motion, he would request of Mr. Rowan to undertake it, and if that gentleman should refuse, he would himself, without further hesitation, come forward as the mover. It is unnecessary to say that I preferred to have the business moved by Mr. N. Butler. As far as I could I gave him to understand this, but as he persisted I gave into his hand the following written motion which I had prepared for the occasion.

COPY

COPY of the MOTION of EXONERATION.

“ You are moved, That Mr. Constantine Mathews and Mr. Thomas Wright, Members of this Society, who so honourably came forward and pledged themselves in the sum of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS EACH, as Bail for the Appearance of Mr. William Paulet Carey, late Printer and Proprietor of the National Evening Star, *to take his trial for the publication of the address of this society to the volunteers of Ireland*, be and are hereby exonerated from the payment of the aforesaid penalty; and that this Society do now pledge itself and is hereby pledged to pay the aforesaid penalty, *in case it be hereafter demanded*, as it appears necessary for William Paulet Carey to quit this country.”

Mr. N. Butler having read and approved of this motion, left me to request Mr. Rowan to bring it forward. I followed him with my eyes: saw him converse with Mr. Rowan, and saw Mr. Rowan take into his hand the paper on which the motion was drawn up; after which, Mr. N. Butler being at that time *Secretary pro tempore*, took his seat as such, and immediately after the then President, the Hon. ~~James Haughey~~ took the Chair. Mr. Mathews and I took our station in the second seat close to each other near the President's Chair, and Mr. Rowan took his seat exactly before me. Previous to the commencement of business, anxious to be certain whether or not Mr. Rowan had promised to bring forward the motion, I leaned over the front seat to where Mr. N. Butler acted as Secretary, and tapping him on the arm with my cane, asked him in a low voice “ *If Mr. Rowan had consented to make the motion?* ” he answered with a look of satisfaction, “ Yes.”—Immediately after Mr. Rowan leaned back to speak with me, and said—“ that he conceived the motion which he held in his hand (shewing me the paper which contained it) to be very proper, and he had no objection to bring it forward but *one*, which was, that if the penalty should hereafter come to be levied, perhaps it might be expected of him, as the person who made the motion, to pay a greater share of it than any other Member of the Society, a circumstance which could not be very pleasant to him as the *public cause*, and that of the

the Society, had already cost him a sum of SIXTY pounds." I observed to Mr. Rowan, that although the motion might be supposed to originate with him, yet if it proved unsuccessful, neither he nor the Society were bound to any thing by it. If on the contrary it proved successful, it became a resolution of the Body at large, in which case the mover was no more pledged for the payment than any other Member. Mr. Rowan then said he was satisfied, and promised to bring forward the motion, which he held in his hand, as soon as the routine business of the evening was over. Mr. Rowan then quitted his place, and appeared to me to have some discourse with the Hon. [REDACTED]. Just then Counsellor Mac [REDACTED] came over to the seat before me, which Mr. Rowan had quitted. He leaned back, and after the customary civil enquiries, observed, that there was *no business of consequence* to come on that evening. I said I believed not, and just then observing Mr. Rowan standing up, as if about to proceed to business, I deemed any further reserve unnecessary, and told Mr. Mac [REDACTED] that the only matter to come on which I knew of was the EXONERATION OF MY BAIL. Counsellor Mac [REDACTED], with a look of astonishment, asked, "what bail?" I replied, "Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright, who had bailed me when I was arrested for publishing the Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers." Mr. Mac [REDACTED] then eagerly enquired in what sum they were bound. On my informing him, herepeated "TWO HUNDRED POUNDS!"—with a tone of voice strongly indicating *alarm*. My reader may here picture to himself a countenance and manner exactly such as might be expected from a trustee or guardian, who sees a legacy or inheritance which he had counted upon as his own, suddenly demanded by the rightful claimant. "TWO HUNDRED POUNDS!" he repeated again, with a tone and voice of *additional thoughtful perturbation*. After this, assuming a friendly look and accent, he addressed me by the appellation of "*My dear Carey,*" and declaring that the motion was founded in justice, advised me to have the affair *referred to my friends in a Committee*, as perhaps I might have *enemies in the society* who would oppose the motion. I answered *dryly*, "that I was satisfied to leave the motion to its fate with *my friends in the society.*"—"Who is to make the motion?"—"Mr. Rowan"—Had the learned physiognomist *Lavater* been present to have
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marked the transitions of expression in the countenance of Mr. Mac at that moment, it would have been a study worthy of his genius. I made a drawing afterwards of his head, as it struck me on the occasion—perhaps at some leisure moment I may give an etching of it, with the Heads of some other of the *Rump and Dozen Leaders*, to the public. One eye looking with fearful expectation at Mr. Rowan, the other glancing back coldly at me—now wandering uneasily round the room, as if in search of the aid of his learned brothers of the law, of whom to his disappointment not one but himself and the Honourable President, was present: then casting them downwards upon the ground, and ~~biting his~~ thumb nails in silent rumination. After a few moments he quitted his place and sat down close by a Mr. Charles O'Hara, a man in business of High-street. Of this person I shall here only remark that he was one of the Members to whom I had applied to support the motion, some few hours before, at his own house, when he answered without a moment's hesitation, that *he would support the motion, as the Society was bound in common honesty to extricate me, and to exonerate my two Sureties.*

Among the singular traits of conduct which so fully developed the *inconsistent character* of the Leaders of the Society on the night of the motion for exoneration, the following is not the least remarkable: After some ordinary business, Mr. Rowan rose and stated, that the different publications of the Society of United Irishmen being scattered about in loose papers and liable to be lost, it became necessary to prevent that, and to fix them in some shape so as to ensure their existence beyond the present day. He therefore moved, “That the different publications issued from time to time by the Society should be re-printed in the form of a Volume, for the use of the Members of the Society.” The motion was seconded by Counsellor Mac Nally, and passed *unanimously*.

The impropriety of this motion will strike with additional force upon every man of honesty and reflection, when I remind him that among the publications thus ordered to be *re-printed* was that *very Address to the Volunteers*, the printing and distributing of which had subjected sixteen persons to a prosecution. The very publication which had involved me

me in difficulties, my extrication from which the Leaders of the Society were at that very moment about to oppose

Thus, at the very moment when all the *paltry arts of pettifogging chicanery and honourable arrogance*, were employed to prevent the honest men of business in the Society from extricating the *Printer Carey*, the very men who openly and indirectly opposed the extrication of one printer, passed a motion to *re-print the very Address which had involved him and others, and which must of course subject another printer to the heavy sentence of the law*, that was expected to be pronounced against the printers, publishers, and distributors of the address in question.

After this Mr. Rowan rose and stated, that he had a matter to mention to the Society, rather as a subject for its *after consideration* than a motion for its *present discussion*—that the matter was relative to Mr. Carey, the late printer and proprietor of the *National Evening Star*, whose zeal and exertions in the public service they were all acquainted with—it went to a consideration of the propriety of exonerating his two sureties Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright, a measure which it appeared was an object desired by Mr. Carey, and also by his two sureties—a subject on which he would not undertake to bring forward a motion, as perhaps, he again repeated it, it might be deemed a fitter subject for after consideration in the Society. Mr. Rowan here sat down, and I had the mortification to perceive, that this mode of address from a man of his influence, who had the power of recommending the measure, and to ensure its success, had an evident tendency to injure it, by impressing on the Members present an opinion, that Mr. Rowan did not himself conceive it to be proper for present discussion, brought forward in the shape of a regular motion. It may be imagined what were my feelings at that moment, when I saw the measure on which my hopes of escaping from a prison were founded, thus likely to be defeated in the outset, by Mr. Rowan's declining to bring forward the motion, altho' pledged to do so.

After Mr. Rowan sat down, a pause of a few minutes succeeded, accompanied by a general silence. My anxiety increased—my eyes met those of the President—*his* hastily turned away. I looked towards Mac Nally, who seemed

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in deep conversation with one or two more near him. The general silence; Mr. Rowan's mode of introducing the subject; Simon Butler's manner, and Mac Nally's earnestness in discourse, together with all the circumstances which I have hitherto related, inspired a presage of what ensued. The plaguy recollection of "the TWO HUNDRED POUNDS, DUE FOR WINE DRANK IN NEWGATE," and the "OTHER EXERTIONS, *then making*," rose in my mind, and I gave up the question for lost, when

Mr. E. C. Keane rose, and apologising to the President for taking up a matter introduced by the Gentleman who spoke last, declared that he would not do so, but from the Gentleman's observing, that he brought the question forward *only* as a matter for an *after discussion*. He added, that it appeared to him absolutely necessary to decide upon it immediately—they were upon the eve of the commencement of Term. It was then the 11th of October, and on the 6th of November, Term was to begin, when there was every reason to expect I would be called upon to stand my trial. They met then *only* every fortnight, except on extraordinary occasions, he therefore hoped, that the Gentleman who introduced the discussion would see the propriety of extricating me in time, and therefore he would, with his leave bring forward the motion.—At that moment I handed to Mr. KEANE the paper containing the motion, having received it from Mr. Rowan on his sitting down, and Mr. Keane having read it aloud, in the usual form, handed it to the Secretary, Mr. N. Butler. Just then Mr. Hyndman rose and seconded the motion, according to the established usages of the Society.

The Hon. President, whose striking characteristic is a possession of himself on almost all occasions, was evidently embarrassed on receiving the paper which contained the motion, from the Secretary. He however recovered himself and began to read it in a manner not greatly calculated to communicate its obvious meaning to his audience.—After having read it, he declared with some hesitation, that "*as a LAWYER, he could not put the question on that motion*"—On this Mr. Keane again rose, and declaring that he was not wedded to the *particular wording of the motion*, which he submitted to the better discretion of the hon

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President

President, and the gentlemen present, to alter at their pleasure, on condition that they preserved the *spirit* and *principle* of the motion, which was *to permit Mr. Carey of two evils to choose the least*, and to go into exile in preference to a prison. This could only be done by the exoneration of Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright, his two sureties.—On this Counsellor Mac Nally rose, and declared that through a regard for his friend Carey, he must oppose that motion—simply because it went to involve Mr. Carey in Outlawry, as the exoneration of his sureties would not stop prosecution against the printer, but would compel him to fly his country, a circumstance which he trusted every man of humanity in that Society would do his utmost to prevent—he continued to paint with much apparent feeling, the fatal consequences of being torn from friends, family, connections, and native country—to be hurried into exile among strangers, and having finished a speech as loud and forcible as is customary with him—I replied, that I was fully sensible of all the variety of evils to which an exile from my friends and native country would perhaps subject me, but that I was so unfortunately circumstanced as to have no alternative left but a PRISON, without any prospect of release. As I was on the verge of Outlawry at that moment through the neglect of the lawyers of the committee of constitution, who had, in spite of my repeated applications occasioned the violation of the Society's engagement to support me under the prosecution commenced against me for the Belfast rejoicings, which I had published in my own paper from the Northern Star. I therefore earnestly trusted that the gentlemen of the Society, would enable me to repeat the forcible expressions of the gentleman who made the motion, “*of two evils to choose the least*”—and *to permit me to fly into exile*, from a country where nothing but misfortunes awaited me.—On this, COUNSELLOR Mac NALLY rose and totally changed the grounds of his opposition to the motion. He quitted the stile of “*my friend Carey*,” for that kind of professional eloquence to which he is so well accustomed. For nearly ten minutes he poured forth a torrent of gross abuse against me, endeavouring to make the misfortunes which surrounded me the result of a want of principle—although it was so publicly notorious that

they flowed from a zealous adherence to my principles. He declared that the Society *was not bound to support me, unless I stood my trial*—asserting among other extraordinary matters, that in case the Society passed that resolution to exonerate my two sureties—he was of opinion *that they would be bound legally to pay all my debts if I owed ten thousand pounds*—and that *they could be legally sued for them*.

After this he was proceeding when I withdrew to the door for a few moments, and it appears Counsellor Mac Nally and other members, were of opinion I had quitted the place in anger, as the Counsellor, when I returned, was just stating “*that he was very glad I had withdrawn, as he could now speak his mind of me with more freedom.*”——The oddity of this speech, joined to the circumstance of my coming in at that moment, occasioned a general laugh at his expense, which at first disconcerted him, but he recovered himself and continued *under the protection of the society* to abuse me in terms as gross as before. He was proceeding with the expressions, “And I trust gentlemen that you will not become *partners in this man's crimes,*” when the murmur of disapprobation, which had commenced with his attack on me, and which had continued all along, rose so loud, that notwithstanding the absorption of his senses in the pleasing consideration of his own eloquence, he became sensible he had mistaken himself, and overshot his mark. He stopped short, and looking round him in the countenances of all present, abruptly sat down in evident confusion, leaving his harangue unfinished.

Mr. C. MATHEWS, one of my sureties, rose in reply to Mr. Mac NALLY. He observed that he felt his inability to oppose the learned gentleman, who had just obtained so much *credit* by his attack on a man who was *down*—he declared he had ever until that night, heard the name of Mr. Carey with pleasure, because he had ever heard it mentioned with respect and approbation.—He said that he had a pleasure in doing justice to my character from his own immediate observation—he had attended at a meeting of my creditors, when my difficulties first fell on me—and he was present when I offered them *my all*. Could any one do more? He had bailed me when *it was* arrested for publishing the

the address to the volunteers—he had since that repeatedly felt hurt by my coming to him and telling him—“Mr. Mathews you have saved me from a prison—if you repent of having done so, or have any doubt of me, I am ready to exonerate you, by going to a prison whenever you please.”—He concluded with remarking that he had risen to trouble the meeting with his sentiments, because the learned gentleman who spoke last, had made so unfair and unmerited an attack upon my *private* character. Had that speaker attacked my *public* conduct, which however he did not—Mr. Mathews begged leave to assure him that he would not have noticed it, as he was convinced that any thing urged that way, would only tend to discredit the speaker—the Society being too well acquainted with the part which I had acted, to permit themselves to be deceived.

As the matter which fell from Mr. Mathews was received with evident approbation, the Hon. ~~the~~ the President, appeared more visibly discomposed. Whatever might be his motive, he chose to depart from the line of duty ever observed by the chairman, and took a part in *opposing* the motion for *exonerating* of my two sureties.

The Hon. gentleman begun, by repeating his former remark, that he *could not put the question on the motion then before him*. He declared that he felt happy in giving his full testimony of approbation to Mr. CAREY—no man was more ready to do justice to my public spirit, but TWO HUNDRED POUNDS was a GREAT SUM OF MONEY. He felt that no man could justly impeach my character, which that society had so honorably witnessed; but as PRESIDENT, *he was bound to take care of the society's funds*—and he repeated again in conclusion that *for these reasons he would not put the question on the motion then before him*.

Mr. E. C. Keane rose, and after professing his respect for the legal ability of the Hon. President, begged leave to remind him that *in refusing to put the question on a motion made and seconded in due form*, he not only violated the line of his duty to the Society as President, by which he was bound to put the question on every motion made and duly seconded, but he adopted a conduct which he had himself opposed and condemned, on a former occasion. When Dr. Drennan sat in the chair, and refused to put the question

tion on a motion made and seconded in due order—he, the Hon. [redacted] had himself been first to rise against his doing so, and to declare it an arbitrary and undue assumption of power, by which the will of the President might at any time be opposed to the general sense of the Society, and of course any measure however just and necessary, might, by his refusing to put the question on it, be wholly set aside, a circumstance by which the Society would, instead of a free deliberative body, sink into a passive appendage of the chair. By using this argument, Mr. Keane observed that the Hon. [redacted] compelled Dr. Drennan, the former president, to discharge his duty to the Society, and to put the question, after having refused to do so, on a motion duly made and seconded.

It was remarked of the Hessian troops in America, during the late war, that they possessed the *steadiest front* in time of action, but when once an impression was made on them, they quickly gave way, and were hardly ever rallied.

A part of this observation justly applied to the conduct of the Hon. President, after Mr. Keane had so directly pointed out the inconsistency and impropriety of his refusal to put the question.

Remarkable for a cool and unembarrassed possession of himself, he here seemed to lose that distinguishing trait of his character. He attempted to speak several times as if about to assign some fresh reasons for his conduct, but became confused, and only repeated that “ *he would not put the question on the motion before him because TWO HUNDRED pounds was a GREAT SUM OF MONEY.*”

Mr. N. Butler, the Secretary, then rose, and observed that he was concerned to find any opposition to the motion then before the Society. He was one to whom the propriety of that motion had been submitted by Mr. Carey, previous to its being brought forward.—He had given his approbation of it, because he felt it to be a measure of honesty in the Society to extricate the printer from the danger in which it had involved him. Mr. Carey had in the mode of bringing this motion in, acted in a manner which every man must approve of. He had proved himself sensible of impending danger, by the trouble and anxiety which he shewed to obtain

a release for his two sureties.—He did not give way to his sense of that danger, and fly the kingdom, as perhaps others would have done.—He had consulted his sureties and obtained their leave, previous to the proceeding being adopted. Mr. Carey came himself to abide the issue and the solicitude which he expressed, and the known tenour of his public conduct ought to interest every member present in his extrication—the whole of this conduct was manly and honorable. The measure in itself was honest. The mode in which it came before the Society was correct and respectful. He concluded with giving his decided approbation to the measure.

The Hon. [REDACTED] still taking a part in the debate, contrary to the customary limits prescribed to him as president, again changed his ground of opposition to the motion. He declared that he did not know that Mr. Carey was entitled to have such a motion brought forward, for he had no certainty of Mr. Carey's arrest, on the contrary he had reason to suppose that no such circumstance had taken place.—On this Mr. Mathews rose and stated that he had bailed Mr. Carey before Lord Clonmel when he had been arrested for publishing the address to the volunteers. And Surgeon Wright rose and gave evidence that he had also bailed me in company with Mr. Mathews, before Lord Clonmel as already stated. The honorable President then declared, that the assertions of Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright, were not proofs—and that he could not put the question on the motion on their mere assertions. Surgeon Wright then declared with some heat, that if his WORD was doubted he would give his OATH, if necessary, that I had been arrested, and that the cause of my arrest was my publishing the address of the society to the volunteers.—He was certain of this, because he had read the warrant on which I had been taken, and because that Mr. Carleton, who arrested me, had declared with some warmth in the police-house, while I was in custody, “that he had caught me at last—that he had received much blame for not having taken me long before, as the warrant against me, had been given to him at the same time with the warrants against Mr. Rowan, Tandy, M'Donnel, and the other printers, charged with the same offence of distributing, printing,

printing, and publishing, the address of the United Irishmen to the volunteers."—This produced a fresh pause of embarrassment to the Hon. President—I thus put as it were to the bayonet, he hesitated, and at last replied "that Mr. Wright must know that oaths could not be tendered in the society." He then took the journal of the Society's proceedings, and after examining it, declared that there did not appear any mention of my arrest on the books, nor any resolution to support me under prosecution for publishing the address of the Society to the volunteers, *the resolution which did appear, being to support me under prosecution, for publishing the Belfast rejoicings out of the Northern Star.*

The secretary, Mr. N. Butler, also examined the journals and could not discover any resolution to support me, *except under the prosecution for the Belfast rejoicings out of the Northern Star.*

I will here leave it to the unbiassed reader to guess what must be my feelings at this to me *important moment.* I ask of any thinking man to make my case his own—to reflect what his feelings must be—after losing his establishment and his means by a public body—after suffering arrest and proscription for that public body for near a twelvemonth, and being on the brink of outlawry on one hand, and fine and imprisonment on the other—I ask of any of those men who know that the Press is the only organ by which a people can be rendered free, and who afterwards so readily consented to expel the Printer who had so zealously devoted his Press to the public cause—I ask of them what would have been their feelings at that moment, had they been in my situation and to have received the treatment which I received.

It would be indeed difficult for me to paint my thoughts upon so trying an occasion. Astonished at the intrepid assurance which could affect to forget and to deny an arrest that had happened in the full view of the Society—the breaking up of one of its meetings, I could scarce trust to the evidence of what I had heard. The unmerited attack upon me by Counsellor Mac Nally, gave me no uneasiness. It could not injure me. But if the Hon. President should succeed in defeating the motion for exonerating my bail, that

that would be a ruinous injury to me indeed. I rose therefore under the painful necessity of speaking in my own cause.

I observed that if the cause of my difficulties was forgotten by some gentlemen in that society, it perhaps was remembered by the public who had witnessed my conduct. Had I been guided by a selfish principle, I would at that moment be free from the difficulties which involved me, for it was notorious that my difficulties flowed from a zealous adherence to my principles—if a wish to serve the public was a crime in other places, yet I might have hoped it would have found favour for a persecuted printer, in the Society of United Irishmen, a society founded expressly to serve the public. If I had fallen into difficulties, I had fallen with character, since the very persons to whom I was under engagements daily met me and were the first to lament the persecution and abandonment which I experienced. My situation was hard indeed. The forbearance of these men bore witness to my integrity, while in the society, which had involved me in ruin, which was pledged for my support, and for which I had suffered a year of proscription, I was forced to witness a cruel and groundless impeachment of my character. Nor was this all. My feelings had a still more severe aggravation to meet with. After having been driven from my house and establishment and involved irretrievably by that society—after being forced so long to conceal myself in the outlets of my native city, to change my name, and to suffer all the hardships of proscription—after all this—what a wound must it be to me to hear it questioned, “Have you suffered for us and for our cause?”—that is, “Have you been arrested for our publication—for we have forgotten the circumstance? are we pledged to support you? it appears we are not!”—I earnestly begged of the members of the society not to permit themselves to be deceived into a wilful forgetfulness—It was notorious that I had been arrested for publishing the address to the volunteers—my arrest took place in the presence of the Society, for this reason, that it occurred at the breaking up of the meeting, when I was surrounded by the members departing along with me. But if gentlemen chose to create a doubt of my arrest for publishing the address

addresses to the volunteers, that doubt ought not to induce any opposition to the motion before them: the motion only went to pledge the society in case I had been arrested for publishing the address to the volunteers: it went to pledge the society to pay the penalty of two hundred pounds, in which my friends Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright, were bound for my appearing to take my trial for publishing the address of that Society to the volunteers. Now if I had not been arrested for publishing the address to the volunteers, and if no trial hung over me for that publication, it followed that no penalty could be levied from Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright, for my not appearing to take my trial for said publication, and of course it must be evident to the plainest capacity, that the society, though pledged to the motion then before it, would be bound in nothing. The motion only pledging the Society to pay in case I had been arrested for publishing the address to the volunteers, of course, though passed in the Society, it would not bind it to the payment of a single farthing, unless that arrest had really taken place.

Mr. M. Dowling, who had been secretary, when the resolution to support me after my arrest for the address to the volunteers, passed in the Society, now rose and stated that gentlemen were under a mistake, as well as he could remember the proceedings against Mr. Carey for the address to the volunteers, were by *information ex officio*, and that the Society was pledged to support him under that; but if his recollection was not wrong, the arrest had taken place for a publication inserted in the National Evening Star, out of the Northern Star, in which case the Society had passed a resolution to support Mr. Carey.

Mr. E. C. Keane begged leave to remind gentlemen, that early in Nov. 1792, the Society became pledged to support Mr. Carey under prosecution for the article from the Northern Star. It was a full month after this, before the address of the volunteers was published in December. It appeared that the arrest of Mr. Carey had not taken place until the 29th of March following, being near five months afterwards. It must be evident from this, that the gentleman who spoke last, was in error. It was certain that the proceedings against Mr. Carey in the *first case* of the

article from the Northern Star, were by *Ex Officio*, and that the arrest, in the second instance, *was for publishing the address of the Society to the volunteers*, this he had never heard doubted before. It had been just remarked by Mr. Carey, and it must be evident to every person, on a *moment's reflection*, that the motion was so worded, that it did not go to bind the Society to the payment of a single shilling unless Mr. Carey had been arrested for publishing the address of the Society to the volunteers, and if the doubts, which gentlemen chose to start of Mr. Carey's arrest were to prove true, the Society, although they should pass the motion then before them, would be afterwards bound in nothing. He made this remark, although at the same time he had reason to think that gentlemen did not oppose the motion then before them from any doubt which they had of Mr. Carey's arrest, but from their certainty that he had been arrested, and their disinclination to pay the sum necessary to extricate him from the difficulties in which they had involved him.

Mr. N. Butler rose and argued on the same ground, the necessity and honesty of the Society, pledging itself to the motion then before it. He stated that three forcible reasons existed to induce the Society to accede to the motion before them—the dilemma in which three of their members stood, Mr. Carey, Mr. Mathews, and Surgeon Wright: the first liable to the heavy sentence of a court—the *two latter* liable to incur a penalty of one hundred pounds each. If the former met the danger, the latter would escape. If he gave way to a sense of danger, they must suffer. A publication of that Society was the cause of involving the three. He did not speak for the motion through personal friendship for Mr. Carey, but from a sense of his public conduct, which every man present had witnessed. The motion was called by some, Mr. Carey's motion; he did not think it so, *it went to banish Mr. Carey*. More properly speaking, it was Mr. Mathew's motion, and Surgeon Wright's motion; the two latter had no possible means to extricate themselves. The law did not permit them under the circumstances of Mr. Carey's arrest, to free themselves by giving him up on arrest, were they inclined to do so, but they were not so, inclined. They had every reliance on Mr. Carey's

Carey's integrity, whereas Mr. Carey might extricate himself at any time, without calling on the Society : he had nothing to do but to quit the kingdom, and to throw his two sureties upon the Society, which had involved him and them. From this it must appear that the motion was more justly to be considered as the motion of Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright, than the motion of Mr. Carey.

Mr. Charles O'Hara observed that the Society could not entertain a doubt of its being bound to answer all the consequences of its publications. The Society was certainly bound to pay the penalty in which Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright were bound for the appearance of Mr. Carey to take his trial, for publishing the address to the volunteers, if it was Mr. Carey's choice to withdraw himself from trial. This he was of opinion, was so fair and evident, that there was no occasion for a specific motion for the purpose : he was therefore inclined to think that Mr. Carey might withdraw from trial and leave his two sureties to the care of the Society, which he was of opinion would honorably discharge its duty to them.

Counsellor Mac Nally declared, that on a second reflection, if it could be proved *in a committee*, that Mr. Carey had been arrested for the address of the Society to the volunteers, *then perhaps* the Society ought to take into consideration, the propriety of exonerating Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright, but although it might be proper to do so, yet gentlemen ought to remember that OTHER EXERTIONS were then taking place, and that the Society was at that moment *considerably indebted on another account*.

Mr. Dillon of Francis-street, declared that he was for the motion, because it was easier for the Society to pledge itself to pay two hundred pounds, *which might never be called for*, than to subject Mr. Carey to a heavier fine and imprisonment, under which the Society could not support him. *The Society owed, at that time, several hundred pounds more than it was able to pay.*

Mr. Fians stated his opinion to be the same. The Society was in debt a large sum, and the subscriptions were with difficulty collected from the members.

Mr.

Mr. E. C. Keané rose and again declared that he felt the propriety of the motion which he had brought forward, too strongly not to persist in demanding the President to put the question on it. He felt it his right and the right of every member of the Society to make that demand, and it was undeniably the duty of the Hon. President to comply with that demand. There had been no reason advanced against the motion which had any weight with him. He therefore must beg leave to persist in requesting the Hon. President to put the question on the motion.

Mr. Lewens urged the propriety and honesty of the principle on which the motion was founded, and the necessity of the Society's adopting it by an immediate resolution. If any person chose to entertain a *doubt* of Mr. Carey's arrest for the address to the volunteers, he ought to consider that the motion before them would not bind the Society to any payment, *unless Mr. Carey had been arrested* for publishing the address to the volunteers. As this had been already urged, the truth of it must be obvious to all, and it must be equally obvious, that any opposition to the motion, altho' said to be founded on that doubt, was founded on a motive directly the contrary.

Mr. J. T. Roche went over nearly the same grounds of argument, pointing out the humanity, the justice, and the necessity of passing the motion. He asked did the Society wish for Mr. Carey to suffer more! was not a year of proscription sufficient? was not the loss of his means and the prospect of outlawry sufficient? Did gentlemen wish to see him sentenced to a prison a further victim? They might perhaps become sensible of involving a family in destruction when it would be too late.—Mr. Roche concluded here, but on the Hon. [redacted] persisting on his refusal to put the question on the motion, he rose again *twice*, to enforce the arguments which he had already advanced.

The Hon. President *persisted in refusing to put the question*. He declared warmly, that if he was *further pressed to put the question, he would quit the chair*. He was of opinion Mr. Carey's arrest *ought to be ascertained by a committee*.

Mr. Lewins mentioned his opinion, that if the *only* opposition to the motion, was a *doubt* of Mr. Carey's arrest for the address

addresses to the volunteers, that doubt could be easily be done away, by appointing a committee to *ascertain the cause of Mr. Carey's arrest*, when Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright had bailed him before Lord Clonmell. To this the Hon. [REDACTED] declared *he* had no *objection*, and any gentleman might move it without any opposition from him.

On this Mr. E. C. Keane rose and declared he felt himself in a situation more unpleasant than had ever occurred to him, *by the single voice of the President* to be forced to give up a motion which was made and seconded in due form, the propriety and necessity of which he was convinced of, was in itself a precedent of the most dangerous kind to the Society as a deliberative body. He had however, discharged his duty, and although he feared the plan of a committee would produce a delay, and perhaps a defeat of the measure, yet, as he saw no other way of proceeding, he would therefore of necessity move,

"That a committee of three be appointed to ascertain the cause of the arrest of W. P. Carey, on which arrest Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright had become sureties for his appearing to take his trial."

Counsellor Mac Nally at once agreed to the propriety of a committee, and said that no man had a greater dislike to wounding the feelings of another, and that if any thing which had fallen from him in the course of the evening had given offence to Mr. Carey, or to his friends, he was sorry for it, it was unintentional. On this Mr. Keane's motion was seconded by Mr. J. T. Roche, but before the question was put on it, Surgeon Wright requested leave to state his opinion, which was, that the referring to a committee, a business, of which there did not exist a doubt, appeared to him, calculated to insult a man in misfortune. It was an attempt to trifle with his feelings, and to gain time to make a party against the motion. Mr. Wright was here called to order, by the Hon. President, after which he proceeded. He would not again recapitulate the circumstances of Mr. Carey's arrest, since it was so notorious, that it had happened on the threshold of the Tailors-Hall, in the view of the Society. Nor would he repeat the assertion of his having bailed Mr. Carey before Lord Clonmell, or his conviction

vision of the cause of his arrest, because his assertion with that of Mr. Mathews and his own offered oath had been discredited, and pronounced insufficient proof. If this was not intended as an insult, yet at least it must be owned to be extremely like it. He solemnly declared it was the first time he had ever heard a doubt expressed of Mr. Carey's arrest for publishing the address of the Society of United Irishmen to the volunteers, and he would without hesitation say he believed, that such a doubt would never have been thought on, or brought forward, had the motion of that night not been made. (Here the Hon. President insisted with much warmth, that Mr. Wright must either sit down or speak in order.) Mr. Wright continued, he foresaw the motion for the exoneration of Mr. Carey's sureties would be defeated by the measure of a committee, and he was so decidedly of that opinion, that he, for one, would oppose it, but at the same time he would have no hand in Mr. Carey's destruction. He therefore, in the presence of the Society, gave Mr. Carey his free leave to withdraw from the dangerous sentence of the law which hung over him. (*A murmur of applause from all sides*), at the same time thanking him for the honorable and manly mode in which he had struggled to procure the exoneration of his two sureties, from a body which had involved him and them, and which was bound to extricate them.

When Mr. Wright sat down, a number of persons spoke together to applaud his conduct—rather a mixed conversation than debate ensued, the general opinion was, that Mr. Carey had done all that an honest man could do, to bind the Society to exonerate his bail—that more was not in his power. That the striking instance of generosity, just set by Mr. Wright, in permitting him to quit the kingdom, ought to content any scruple which he might have in going: that if he staid inevitable ruin awaited him and his family, and that *self-preservation was the first law of nature*.

I own I felt myself inclined to adopt this resolution, but I was resolved first to obtain leave of Mr. Mathews, my other surety. Several persons in my presence, pressed him to copy the honorable example of Surgeon Wright, declaring their belief that he might rely on the Society to pay the penalty, should it be demanded. Mr. Mathews answered that

that he had *no reliance whatever on the Society*—That if the Society intended to pay him, he saw no reason whatever, for an opposition to the motion, pledging the Society to the payment—That [if the Society refused to pledge itself to the payment, it was a sure sign it did not intend to pay him, and in conclusion he expressed his concern for Mr. Carey's situation, for whom he felt the highest regard, but *he could not give him leave to withdraw*. Previous to the question being put on the motion, Mr. Mathews rose and observed that there was a circumstance which he had not before mentioned *on that night*—it was that he had bailed Mr. R. M'Allister, when arrested for publishing the address of the Society to the volunteers, and that when he attended for that purpose before Lord Clonmell, there had *not* been a bail-bond prepared for Mr. M'Allister, but that he saw a bail-bond ready prepared for Mr. W. F. Carey, and that it was made to answer for Mr. R. M'Allister, by erasing the name of Carey, and putting in that of Mr. M'Allister. Now the Society had passed a resolution of supporting Mr. M'Allister under that arrest, as being for publishing the Address of that Society to the Volunteers. The Hon. President *again objecting to receive assertion as proof, and persisting in refusing to put the question on the motion to exonerate Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright*, the Society submitted to his will, and the motion of exoneration being thus put down by his *veto*, the motion appointing a *Committee of Three to ascertain the cause of the arrest on which Mr. Mathews and Surgeon Wright had bailed me, was of necessity assented to*:

Mr. E. C. Keane being according to rule nominated first on the Committee, was called on to nominate a second person. He named Mr. A. H. Rowan, and Mr. Rowan being called upon to name a third, he named, *to the surprise of every person*, Counsellor Mac Nally, who had just before loaded me with the grossest abuse, and proved himself a decided enemy to the measure of exonerating my two sureties.

The Society being then about to adjourn, a number of members who had promised before that evening to support the motion to exonerate my sureties, pressed about me with their useless condolence on the occasion. Shocked at the insolent and unprincipled usurpation of the President, and disgusted at the unmanly and servile acquiescence of the
body

body of the Society, I became conscious that the *coup de main* to exonerate my sureties having failed, I could place no further hope or dependance on the integrity of the Society. The measure referred to a Committee was too thin a pretext to deceive me for a moment. It appeared to me exactly as it had done to Surgeon Wright, and to all those with whom I at that time and since conversed, merely a subterfuge of the President to get rid of the motion for that night, in order to raise a party against it on the next night of meeting. Surgeon Wright, Mr. Lewins, and a Mr. Summers came out from the Tailors-Hall with me, and accompanied me through several streets, urging me to go off from Dublin, if possible, that night, and to sail from Ireland as speedily as I could. Mr. Wright was particularly earnest with me to induce me to do so. He stated that he believed I was peculiarly obnoxious to Government; that if I staid, I would in all probability be stuck in the pillory, or lashed through the streets, and my skin torn from my back, and after all I might be perhaps heavily fined and thrown into a prison for years, without any prospect of a release.

I acknowledged myself deeply indebted to Mr. Wright, for the concern which he expressed for the dangerous situation in which I was involved, and also for the disinterested generosity of his conduct in giving me leave to quit Ireland, at the risk of being himself called upon for payment of the penalty of one hundred pounds, in which he was bound for my appearance to take my trial for printing and publishing the Address of the United Irishmen to the Volunteers. He informed me that he had friends in the Society who would stand by him if I were gone, and if they did not, he had *friends in another quarter, who would prevent the levying the penalty from him.* To this I replied by again thanking him, but observed that I could not bring myself to think of violating the trust reposed in me, by betraying and deserting Mr. Mathews, my other surety. Mr. Mathews had that evening refused his leave to those who begged him to permit me to fly. I did not blame him. I could not blame him for so doing. I, myself in the same situation would do the same. I would consider it an indelicacy in me to ask his leave after the scandalous behaviour of the Society on that

that night. It would be dishonest in me to do so. It would be plainly to ask him to pay one hundred pounds for me, or to go to prison for me, if he had not that sum to pay. Could I submit to that good old man's thus suffering for me. No, I would not. If however Mr. Wright really thought there was an honest and friendly party in the Society, who would pay the penalty of my bail, I would be extremely obliged to Mr. Wright to speak to Mr. Mathews on the subject, and to obtain leave from him for me to depart into banishment.

Mr. Wright repeated all his entreaties to induce me to go without further consulting Mr. Mathews. He said that Mr. Mathews did not see things in the same light that he did, and he was sure that he never would give his consent to my going. As to my waiting the report of the Committee, it was all a farce, it was plainly designed to put down the motion, and it would come to nothing. He was of opinion that if I consulted my own safety, and the utter ruin and imprisonment which hung over me, I would act according to the first law of nature, and fly from Ireland as quick as I could.

After this we parted, and I lay that night at a lodging which I had purposely taken that week at a Mrs. Murphy's in James's-street, intending to conceal myself there until I could get an opportunity to escape from the kingdom in the first vessel bound for America. Before I went to rest, I committed to paper the heads of the debate, as here inserted.

REMARKS on the culpable Conduct of the Hon. PRESIDENT
on the Night of the Motion of EXONERATION, October
11, 1793.

THE history of political parties is but too frequently a picture "of knaves betraying, and of fools betrayed," of indigent and ambitious profligates labouring to get into affluence and power, and of honest men contributing by their own degradation to lift them into it. The wild beast rules the forest by superior strength and ferocity. Among men, bodily strength, superior vigour of intellect, and even collective virtue and resources are frequently sullied, subdued,

and made a prey of by the specious pravity and selfish dissimulation of a feeble individual. It is by comparing the actions of men that we shall be able to discover the truth or falsehood of their professions. How often do we discover under the garb of religion an illiberal and rapacious spirit? How frequently is the holy name of patriotism assumed and profaned by minds impure, worthless and immoral, habituated to dishonest and unmanly pursuits, and delighting in low and contemptible gratifications?

Such of my readers as wish to form a true opinion of the *talents*, the *aims*, and the *integrity* of the men who first polluted and then prostrated the Society of United Irishmen, will find them epitomised in the proceedings of the night on which the motion was made to exonerate my sureties. They will see that it was the wish and intention of the trading characters of the Society to do me justice; and they will justly be of my opinion, that the whole infamy of the ill treatment which I received on that night and since ought justly to be laid at the door of the hon. President and his few accomplices. When we look back upon the *Text* of the Society and the *brotherhood of affection*, the *identity of interests*, the *communion of rights*, and the *union of power*, which each and every United Irishman so solemnly pledged himself in the presence of God to forward among his countrymen—when we contrast this with the base and barefaced chicanery, and the miserable collusion practised against me on the night of the 11th of October, the honest heart and unbiassed mind must at once be filled with indignation. How poorly must the members of that Society appear, thus awed and curbed, and invaded in their right of judging for themselves, and submitting to the arbitrary *veto* of an individual, indigent and of suspicious patriotism; destitute of resources, and without any other consequence but what he derives from being a *Pleader without practice*, and the *younger brother of a deceased Lord*!

The reader by looking back to page 20, will find that I attended the Committee of Constitution on a Sunday morning November 18, 1792, relative to a prosecution intended against me for the article copied from the Northern Star. The place of meeting was at the house of the Hon. President in Nassau-street, who was himself present, as also were

were Mr. Rowan, Counsellor Tone, Counsellor Mac Nally, Doctor Drennan, and Surgeon Wright, of these I am positive. I have also some recollection that Counsellor D. Rice and Doctor Bourke were there, but whether any other person or persons were present I cannot now be certain. I attended this Committee by a special order of the Hon. [redacted], the Chairman of the Committee of Constitution, and his order was given in consequence of my case being referred to the consideration of the Committee of Constitution by the Society. I brought with me, by the Hon. President's order, the National Evening Star of the 3d of November, 1792, being the publication which contained the supposed libel, the account of the Belfast rejoicings. The Hon. [redacted] required of me to let him know what conversation had passed between me and his Majesty's Attorney General, when I attended him pursuant to notice relative to that publication. I informed him of the particulars, and observed, that when the Attorney General questioned me relative to the publication of the Belfast rejoicings, he had before him the National Evening Star of the 3d of November, 1792, being that in which that publication appeared. I saw in that paper a part of the account of the Belfast rejoicings marked particularly with a pen, and on the part so marked the Attorney General laid his finger.—On my stating this, the Hon. President took up the National Evening Star of the 3d of November, which I had with me, and he read the part of the account of the Belfast rejoicings which I had informed him was marked with a pen by the Attorney General, until he came to a sentence which expressly declared, "*that Ireland has no Constitution.*"—He then stopped, and laying down the National Star, said, "that he saw clearly *for what* the "*prosecution was intended against Mr. Carey. It was for the assertion which he had just read, that Ireland has no Constitution,—but he would repeat it; that assertion is true, that Ireland has no Constitution; and he would repeat and maintain that assertion before the Houses of Lords and Commons, if necessary.*"—The Hon. President then went on—he said, "*it was necessary for the United Irishmen to support Mr. Carey under prosecution for publishing such bold truths, or else these bold truths would*
not

"not be published. If Mr. Carey was not supported, he
 "and other printers would be discouraged and intimidated
 "from publishing, and the United Irishmen could not aban-
 "don the press without falling themselves."—After this
 the Committee of Constitution framed a report to return to
 the next meeting of the Society, declaring it the duty of
 the Society to support me under said prosecution, and the
 Society afterwards voted me its support accordingly. Be-
 fore I withdrew from the meeting of the Committee of
 Constitution, the *Hon. President* ordered me to RE-PRINT
 the particular part which his Majesty's Attorney General
 had marked with the pen, and pointed to with his finger, AS
 THE SUPPOSED LIBEL, for printing which he intended to
 prosecute me." This order to re-print the libel, was, he
 said, to distribute copies of it in the Committee of Con-
 stitution and the Society of United Irishmen.

'It may be seen how completely I was the dupe of my reliance
 on this party, when I again subjected myself to a fresh pro-
 secution, by obeying the order of the *Hon. President*, and
 re-printing the libel, for printing which I had already re-
 ceived notice of a prosecution being about to commence
 against me. Yet so fully deceived was I by their professions
 of a brotherhood of affection, communion of rights, and an union
 of power"—and such was my opinion of the integrity
 and legal opinion of the *Hon. President*, and the other
 lawyers of the Society, that I did re-print, on six quires of
 pot-paper, 250 copies of the libel, which asserted "*that*
Ireland has no constitution." Of these I sent 200 to the *Hon.*
President to distribute in the Society, and reserved 50
 for the circle of my own acquaintance. Thus the *Hon.*
President subjected me to a fresh prosecution, although it
 is evident by his after utter neglect and continual violation of
 the solemn engagement to support me under prosecution,
 for printing that very libel which he ordered me to re-
 print, that he never intended the Society should fulfil its
 engagement or afford me the least protection.

Although I know it is a general opinion that the above
 engagement was passed merely to cajole me into the print-
 ing other publications, yet I can scarcely conceive so base
 a treachery could enter into the head of any man, whom I
 had never offended, and who appeared so warmly to inter-
 rest

rest himself in my case—at all events it proved fatal to me, by pushing me off the center of my better judgment and inducing me to rely on the Society of United Irishmen.

Nevertheless the transaction looks dark indeed. The very man who goaded me into danger, and who brought in and sanctioned as a safe and legal publication, the Address to the Volunteers, was the first to rise and oppose my extrication, on the contemptible plea, that £200 *was a great sum of money*. This œconomy was not thought of, when he was either through ignorance or design, leading me and other unsuspecting men of business of the Society into danger. The sudden spirit of œconomy which induced him to refuse putting the question on the pretext, that “*as President he was bound to take care of the Society’s funds*” will be found on examination to be equally *sincere and consistent* with his other political professions.

We have but to consider some facts—I published the Address to the Volunteers on the 18th of December, 1792, and warrant issued against me the 21st of the same month. The Society of United Irishmen were thus from that date virtually bound to support me under prosecution, or to extricate me from it, if a more safe or prudent measure. —This engagement, or rather this tie, thus took place long before the Hon. President committed himself and Mr. Bond before the Bar of the House of Lords. This did not take place till the 1st of March, 1793, almost three months after my being committed, by publishing the Address to the Volunteers. I published the Address *by order* of the Society. The Hon. President, on the contrary, of his own mere motion, and without calling together or consulting a regular meeting of the Society, and *without any order of the Society*, or by resolution of the Society so to do, did commit himself and Mr. Bond before the Bar of the House of Lords, and by that committal subjected himself and Mr. Bond to the payment of a fine of £500 each, and to six months imprisonment in Newgate.

I earnestly entreat of every reader who wishes to form a true estimate of the Hon. President’s political character, to compare his conduct to me with that which he himself experienced from the Society. Let them also consider, that he had taken the Test of the Society, and that the

Test

Test binds every person who took it to labour to establish "a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, (that is, with respect to the members, an equality of right and consequence in the Society, and an equality of protection and support under prosecution, from the Society,) a communion of rights, (a repetition of the second obligation) and a union of power." This Test every United Irishman took as well as the Hon. gentleman, and thus they were bound, if the test was meant at all to bind those who took it, to observe a conduct strictly impartial, and a system of the purest equality to each and every member of the Society. But mark how far, or rather how completely they violated the obligations of this *test*. They engaged themselves to support me under one prosecution, and from the night when that engagement passed until the night of exoneration, and from that day to this, they persisted in a violation of that engagement. By this they deliberately sacrificed my personal liberty, and delivered me over to *Outlawry*. In the second instance, they ordered me to publish; involved me in prosecution; pledged themselves to support me—and refused to pay my bail; expelled me on a surmise that I had employed my pen to urge them to do so; and finally abandoned me, becoming themselves my bitterest enemies and persecutors. On the other hand, in the case of the Hon. President and Mr. Bond, the plain and well-meaning members of the Society, were so completely befuddled by the *witchcraft* of the word, HONORABLE, that SEVENTY-ONE of the *wealthiest* members of the Society were appointed as a COMMITTEE OF ACCOMMODATION, to consult the pleasure and convenience of the *Hon.* gentlemen. Nor did the Hon. gentleman then hear the voice of *economy*. His *economy* slept, when the committee of accommodation was appointed, and when the patriotism of Mr. Careless the cook, was united with the equally disinterested patriotism of the Hon. President, to support the *elective franchise* of roast and boiled in the larder and kitchen. The Hon. President's *economy* did not induce him to write a remonstrance to the Society of United Irishmen, to state the impropriety of squandering the contributions of a number of well-meaning men, on the pleasures of the table. No, nor did his *economy* cry out to the Society, when a debt

a debt of two hundred pounds was incurred for him to the wine merchant. But at the same time that we blame, let us give praise with candour where it is due. The hon. gentleman was not at all times a monopolist. He did not conceive himself alone entitled to the good things of Newgate. He called in a partner to partake of the bounty of the Society, and that partner was a companion of the softer sex.* For her an early table was daily spread: for her the nicest dishes, and choicest wines were prepared. But could the Society, could the Hon. President do less for a woman, whose enlightened mind, glowing with a love of freedom, had spurned the slavery of the marriage bed, and all the confinement of those vulgar ties, which have power to bind the less liberal part of her sex.—Happy instance of female patriotism, so worthy of the encouragement and protection of a patriot Society! Happy President, blessed with such a signal opportunity of exemplifying the sincerity, morality and consistency of thy patriotic professions! So well contrasted to the *corrupt practices* of that government which you seek to reform.

The Hon. President did not at that time, by memorial learnedly, state his case, as one which left him without any title to the support of the United Irishmen, so far as he could shew and prove, and it was fully known, that he, the Hon. gentleman, had committed himself before the Lords, without an express order, or without any order or resolution of the Society for so doing. No, the Hon. Gentleman did not. Yet that Hon. man's *economy* could violate the solemn engagement which he entered into, as a lawyer, as a member of the committee of constitution, and as an United Irishman, to support me under prosecution for the article copied from the Northern Star. His *economy* could set up a plea that I ought not to be supported under prosecution for the Address to the Volunteers, under a pretext that I had not received any order from the Society to publish that paper? But I am tired of the inconsistency, want of principle, and prudence, manifested in the whole proceedings of those men.

This very Hon. man, at a moment when *writs* multiplied about his head, and when executions threatened his house, was relieved by the sum of 500l given as a public bounty, and collected by a public subscription. He was before that, and has been again subject to much distress: I do not mention this

* Mrs. B——, wife of Counsellor B——t.

this as a fault, but merely to contrast the generosity which he experienced from the public, with his ungenerous and unmanly conduct to me.

In no case perhaps has the improper conduct of an individual had so little to defend it. On principle, no defence whatever has been made for the Hon. President. As to *form*, some poor attempts have been offered by his immediate partisans. They are as follows: *First*, It has been stated, that as President he was warranted by the constitution of the Society in refusing to put the question.

This is false—it must appear so by the following extract from the Constitution of the Society, in which the powers of the President are clearly defined—“Every respect and deference shall be paid to the President—his chair shall be raised three steps above the seats of the Members—the Treasurer and Secretary shall have seats under him, two steps above the rest of the Members—on his rising from his chair, and taking off his hat, there must be silence, and the Members be seated—*He shall be judge of order and propriety*, be empowered to direct an apology and to fine refractory Members in any sum not above one crown. If the Member refuse to pay the fine, or make the apology, he is thereupon expelled from the Society.”—It is here clearly expressed, that the powers of the President are solely confined to the observance of *order and propriety* in the mode of *debate*. It is also evident, that he has no power of preventing the Society from debating on any question, or limiting the subject to be debated on, according to his own pleasure. The constitution of the Society does not allow to the President the preposterous power of pre-judging a question, by refusing to take the sense of meeting on it. That would be at once to destroy the end of a deliberative meeting (as was justly observed by Mr. Kean) by giving to the arbitrary *veto* of an individual the power of judging for the whole meeting.

A second defence made for the President's conduct is, “that he offered to quit the chair, if the question was further pressed upon him.” This is equally unfounded—he did not offer. On the contrary, his expression to that purpose, was a threat to quit the chair, thrown out by a man knowing his own influence, and conscious that such a threat would decisively

sively operate against the motion, by intimidating the well-meaning; but irresolute members from further pressing it on him.—Had he acted as he ought, he would, if he felt a just ground of dislike to the motion, have quitted the chair, without offering *by words* to do it, and have requested the Society to put another in the chair, during the debate on the motion then before them.

A *third* defence set up is, “that the Society could *not* legally pledge itself to the payment of a debt, before that debt was contracted.” This ridiculous assertion originated with the Lawyers, yet so it happened that it has since been seriously made use of by men of business, whose daily practice, proved the fallacy of it. What is the nature of a letter of credit? Does it not legally bind the writer to the payment of a debt before it is contracted? Does not a policy of insurance, legally bind the parties to an eventual payment of a debt before it is contracted? Is there a commercial man, who does not daily witness legal agreements, binding to the payment of debts before they are contracted?

REMARKS on the Conduct of MR. ROWAN.

In the *first instance*, Mr. Rowan did *not* keep his word—He promised Mr. Nicholas Butler to bring forward the motion, and he repeated that promise to me, and so far from bringing it forward, by undertaking to do so, he prevented Mr. N. Butler from doing me that service, and afterwards to use a common phrase, he threw *cold water* on it, by *indifferently* mentioning it, as a matter which he spoke of, rather for a subject of *future discussion*, than *present adoption*. His silence during the whole of the after debate, when my arrest for publishing the Address to the Volunteers was denied, and when the Hon. President dared to usurp the power of forbidding the judgment of the Society on the motion, plainly proves, that whatever he might mean to do, when first applied to, by Mr. N. Butler, he changed his mind, and took a hint for his conduct, from the Hon. President, with whom he had some conversation, just before he rose to *speak* of the intended motion.—When the Lawyers had suc-

ceeded in getting the business referred to a committee of three, Mr. Rowan named Mac Nally one of that committee, after hearing that Counsellor's abuse of me, and knowing from the tenor of his conduct, that he was an *interested* enemy to the principle of the motion: Mr. Rowan heard the Hon. President and the Secretary mention, that there was only one engagement entered into to support me by the Society, namely, that *for the article from the Northern Star*—and although Mr. Rowan had been present at the committee of constitution, when that engagement was entered into, and afterwards when it was adopted by a resolution of the Society, yet Mr. Rowan did not rise to remind the Society of a circumstance which was notoriously known in the Society, and in which in my first reply to Counsellor Mac Nally, I had stated, viz. that there were three successive writs of Outlawry then issued out against me, through the Society's having totally violated that engagement to support me.—Does not this clearly prove that the leaders of the Society had made up their minds, and as Mr. Rowan formerly expressed himself to me, had resolved to make all the Society's *old engagements*, that is, *its engagements to me*, null and void. But if a doubt of this remains, is it not removed by Mr. Rowan's former declarations of the Society's being in debt “ *two hundred pounds for wine drank in Newgate?* ” and also by the declaration of the other members in the course of the debate, “ *that the Society was indebted several hundred pounds, and that the subscriptions came in but slowly?* ” Is it not clear from this, that in refusing to exonerate my bail, and holding me to abide the expected sentence of a heavy fine and tedious confinement, the Society avowedly went to throw me into a prison, without possessing means to pay my fine, or to support me under confinement, thus in all probability *to incarcerate me for the remainder of my days?* ”—Every unprejudiced reader must see that if the Society really meant honestly by me, it would, in its embarrassed situation, have preferred to pledge itself to pay the small sum of two hundred pounds, which after all, might never be demanded, rather than to abide the certain issue of having a much heavier sum to pay for my fine, and supporting me under confinement in Newgate.*

* See my remarks on this subject in the introduction.

I again

I again exculpate Mr. Rowan from the greater share of blame due to this unfair conduct: As a husband, a father, and a landlord, every way worthy of praise; it is only as a public character that Rowan is less than himself—an implicit reliance on others, and a sanguine temper; too prompt to embrace measures without due examination have rendered his name subject to censures, which the honesty of his nature, and the goodness of his heart, acting from its own impulse, would probably have never incurred.

REMARKS on the *Conduct of the reputed* AUTHOR of the
ADDRESS to the VOLUNTEERS.

Whatever was improper in the conduct of the Hon. President, and of Mr. Rowan, was also, though differently expressed, singularly conspicuous in the conduct of this man.

He was present during the whole of the debate, and the reader is perhaps curious to know what part he took. He took that part, which perhaps was the least to be expected from him. *He remained silent, during the whole evening.*

In this *silence* there appeared to me something more culpable than in the usurpation of the Hon. President, the servile acquiescence of the Society, Mac Nally's gross abuse of me, and the coldness of Mr. Rowan. Above all others, the Author of the Address to the Volunteers was bound to stand my friend.

The reader will recollect that this man was present at the Hon. President's when the Committee of Constitution came to a resolution that the Society ought to support me under prosecution for the article from the Northern Star: He was also present when the Society unanimously came to a resolution to support me under prosecution for that article: He was thus first bound by the *test* of the Society to see that engagement fulfilled—He was next bound by his duty as a member of the Committee of Constitution to see that engagement fulfilled. He was also bound as a member of the Society to see that engagement fulfilled—and he was bound by the heavy misfortunes which he as Author of the Address to the Volunteers, had occasioned me, to see that engagement

engagement fulfilled—yet it is a fact, that from November, 1792, when the engagement was entered into, until the 11th of October, 1793, when the motion was made to exonerate my sureties, this man never took a single step to induce the Society to fulfil its engagement. He did not *once* remind the Society of it, either by motion *in* the Society, or by *interference out* of it, either by calling on the Society in his own person, or by inducing any other person to call on the Society. The engagement was fully and fairly entered upon the Society's journal. It could not be said to be forgotten. I had laboured to remind the Society of it three several times in my own person when he was present, and I had applied as already stated to several Lawyers of the Society. I had also spoken of its being violated to every member of that Society with whom I had conversed, from the day on which it had been adopted by the Society down to the 11th of October. Thus it is obvious the violation of it could not be a secret to him. What makes this conduct still more reprehensible is, that it is pretty certain that he was himself the writer of the *test* of the Society, in which he and every other member binds himself to observe and forward “a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power.” Among every member of that Society as persons included in the expression “among Irishmen of all religious persuasions;” yet if we are to judge from his conduct to me the high sounding words of the *test* meant nothing. They were merely thrown out to attract and impose upon the multitude. If they imposed any obligation upon the members who took and signed the test, did not this man totally violate whatever obligations we might conclude it intended to impose.

But if in the long lapse of time from November, 1792, when that engagement was entered into, down to the 11th of October, 1793, he had utterly forgotten it, yet on that night he heard an affecting display of the consequences of outlawry and the miseries of banishment delivered by Counsellor Mac Nally, and immediately after he witnessed my declaration that I was then on the point of outlawry, in consequence of the Society's engagement to support me under prosecution for the article from the Northern Star, being totally violated or neglected by the Society. Here

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was full conviction of my situation, for him, if he had no knowledge of it previous to that night. Yet he sat *silent*. He did not once open his lips to move that the Society should see into the cause of its engagement being violated—yet that engagement he had witnessed and assented to, and was pledged to see fulfilled, as a member of the Committee of Constitution, as a United Irishman, as a man of integrity, by the loss of my establishment, which he had so principal a share in causing; and as a writer, whose pen had suspended over my head the sentence of a Court, which the temper of the times furnished reason to suppose would be of the severest nature.

But if we have any doubt, as to the motive of his silence on this head, it is removed by his silence in another instance. When my arrest for the Address to the Volunteers was denied, the author of that Address remained silent. I looked towards him naturally, as to a man who had witnessed my arrest, and was bound by every honourable tie, above all other men, to support the motion to exonerate my bail. But he remained fixed in immoveable silence. He looked at me indeed, but his looks said nothing in my favour.

To judge of the colour of this conduct, it is necessary for us to recollect that the sole tie by which I was held to my difficulties in Ireland, was the tie of honour. By this I was bound to my two sureties, Mr. Mathews, and Surgeon Wright. And this circumstance was caused by my being arrested for publishing the Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers. Thus this man as Author of that Address, was the sole cause of the embarrassment in which I was plunged. He might be justly said to have suspended a danger over my head, and by his *unmanly silence*, it was evident he was joined in a combination, to constrain me to wait until that danger should fall upon and overwhelm me.

The Author of the Address to the Volunteers, it is to be remembered, after my establishment was overthrown, by that publication, refused to sanction with his name or recommendation, or in any way whatever, to forward the *memorable Public Subscription, already noticed in this work*. On the night when I was arrested for publishing that Address, it is also to be remembered, that he read the warrant by Mr. Carleton's permission, in the police-house of Werburgh's-street,

burgh's-street, and that he went out hastily from that place on Mr. Carleton's putting a question to some United Irishmen present, to know if they were so far my friends, as to become my sureties. In all this we in vain look for any exertions in my favour, *produced by the test of the Society* — We see nothing of “the *brotherhood of affection, the identity of interests, the communion of rights, and the union of power,*” to which the author of the Address to the Volunteers was bound to me. He was fully conscious from the perusal of the warrant, and from hearing Mr. Carleton's declaration; that the *cause of my arrest was the publication of the Address to the Volunteers* in the National Evening Star of the 18th Dec. 1792, yet he did not offer to become one of my sureties, although when Mr. McDonnell and Mr. McAlister were arrested for that publication, their sureties were only bound in the small sum of 50*l.* each. Of course, it was reasonable to suppose that my sureties would be bound in as small a sum. This man was conscious that as author of that publication, and having caused it to be published, he was the primary cause, and the Society the immediate instrument of the difficulties and arrest, in which I was involved. Yet he *hastily withdrew* from the police-house, leaving me to lie there all night, or to go to Newgate, or to find what securities I could, to extricate me from the confinement, which otherwise awaited me. At that time he had been my fellow-associate and brother United Irishman, nearly nine months, yet we see he did not conceive himself bound by the *test*, or by that length of companionship, to assist or befriend me in the slightest manner.

From the above circumstance of his having witnessed my arrest for the Address to the Volunteers, his having read the warrant upon which I was arrested, and his having heard Mr. Carleton declare the cause of my arrest to be the publication of the Address to the Volunteers, it is evident that he above all men, next to Surgeon Wright and Mr. Mathews, was bound to bear testimony of my having been arrested for that publication, when the Hon. President affected to forget and to deny my arrest for that publication, yet he remained in *utter and collusive silence* during the whole night.

It is wholly unnecessary for me to comment further on this man's conduct to me. It is evident from his *silence* that *he* and the Hon. President, with the other *Leaders*, had *other matters in view* than fulfilling the engagements of the Society to a *persecuted Printer*. But the culpability of this conduct in others was not of so deep a dye as in him. Yet when we reflect that the Hon. President, with other *Lawyers* of the Committee of Constitution, had sanctioned the Address to the Volunteers as a *safe and legal publication*, and thus been mainly instrumental in imposing on the men of business in the Society, we must be disposed deeply to censure his want of principle in setting himself against my extrication.

OTHER REMARKS.

Counsellor Mac Nally's attack on me is wholly unworthy of comment. It required no small effrontery to assert in a meeting of from forty to fifty citizens, "that if the Society exonerated my bail, it would be liable to be legally sued for all my debts, if I owed ten thousand pounds."

This curious assertion must clearly point out what opinion that Gentleman has of the *understanding and spirit* of the members of the Society.

A convincing and unanswerable argument must shew to every unprejudiced man of common sense who reads the above motion, that if the doubt which the Hon. President affected to entertain of my arrest for publishing the Address to the Volunteers was sincere, it ought not to have hindered him from putting the question on the motion before him; since it is evident that the motion was so drawn up, as to bind the Society *only*, in case my arrest for publishing the Address to the Volunteers *was eventually ascertained beyond a doubt*. It is fully evident, that had the motion passed into a resolution of the Society, at all events, no ill consequences could result to the Society, as it would not have bound the United Irishmen to pay a single shilling of the penalty, *if it afterwards was proved that I had not been arrested for the publication in question*.

It is to be remembered that this motion did not go to *put a single penny in my pocket*—the favour it went to bestow me was *banishment for life*.

It is clear that the President was averse to the principle of the motion; this produced his determination to persevere in refusing to put the question on that night. He saw the general sense of the meeting, so decidedly in favour of it, that had he put the question on it, the motion must be immediately adopted. There remained to him therefore, but one mode of putting down the business, namely that of refusing to take the sense of the Society on the motion before them. This he adopted, and by it he succeeded, in committing the Society against me, and produced all the unpleasant and disgraceful consequences which have ensued from that difference.

The Hon. Gentleman's hope was to exert his influence and that of the Leaders, to smother the measure in a Committee, or to persuade the Society into a total desertion of me before another meeting. Perhaps too he had hopes that after having suffered silently for eleven months, finding myself so ill-treated and trifled with, resentment would in all probability induce me to take some steps to hasten the Society to exonerate my sureties, which would afford him an opportunity to fasten a quarrel with the Society on me, and then his object would be gained. The event shews that this most probably was the case.

On this occasion my warmest thanks are justly due to Mr. E. C. Kean. Had this Gentleman's spirit been as firmly seconded, the Hon. President's usurpation would have been defeated. The propriety, delicacy, and perseverance of his conduct will ever do him honour. He attended on that night merely from a sense of the dangerous situation in which I was involved. I had not previously applied to him, but on my going into the place of meeting, he told me he had heard of the intended motion, and although extremely ill, had ventured out to be of what service he could to me. I am the more obliged to him, because by his decided conduct he run the hazard of giving offence to the Hon. President, and the Lawyers of the Society, with whom his profession gave him daily opportunities of being acquainted. Indeed I am of opinion that if he had not taken up the motion it would fall to the ground after Mr. Rowan's *making mention of it*; or, if any man would have taken it up, I believe that man would be Mr.

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Nicholas Butler; to whose just argument, good sense, and spirited integrity on this occasion I was particularly indebted. I shall not readily forget what I owe him on this occasion.

To Mr. Lewens, Mr. Roche, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Mathews, I was on that night much indebted.

Mr. Hyndman, who seconded the motion, was particularly interested in my behalf. This young man possesses endowments which fit him for a very superior walk in life. To an honourable mind and manly spirit, he joins a fine literary taste, and a capacity of obtaining a literary reputation. I have seen a prose essay of his writing, the style of which was free, animated and vigorous, polished into classic elegance, and enlivened by a rich vein of delicate humour. Some petit pieces of his poetical composition which I have had an opportunity of examining, afforded me much pleasure. They every where display the sweet and glowing enthusiasm of a genuine votary of the Muses. With these talents he is nevertheless unnoticed, and I may say almost unknown in the Society. A certain diffidence which ever accompanies real merit, prevents him from speaking in public, although possessed of requisites to obtain credit as a speaker. Add to this, he thinks for himself, and that independence of mind lifts him above the servile submission necessary to obtain him the favour of the aristocratic Leaders of the Society. Should ever a fortunate occasion afford scope for the display of his abilities, I am of opinion Mr. Hyndman will do honour to himself, and to those who may have discernment enough to draw him from inaction, and to place him in a sphere of employment worthy of his superior capacity.

The more I reflected on Mr. Wright's giving me leave to quit the kingdom, the less was I able to account for his so doing. I had opportunities of knowing his circumstances, which even if he were so inclined, did not leave it in his power to pay a much smaller penalty than that of one hundred pounds, in which he was bound for my appearance to take my trial. The struggle to support a large family decently left him no opportunity of a reserve either for a future day, or the calls of friendship. Our acquaintance and intimacy was not of that kind to induce me to think I had any claims upon him to entitle me to expect that he

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should pay the penalty of one hundred, or even five pounds for me, if it were in his power. That Government would neglect to levy the penalty from my sureties was most improbable. That Government would most certainly levy the penalty from my sureties was expected. His conduct appeared to me still more mysterious, because for some time before, I had reason to think that his friendship for me, if he ever had any, was greatly cooled or changed into an opposite sentiment, and I knew from his conversation and otherwise that he had but a despicable opinion of the Society. About six weeks before the night of exoneration, having some intention of again drawing up a memorial to the Society, on the subject of its violated engagement to me, I wrote to Surgeon Wright, requesting him to return me the copy of the memorial which I had sent him by Mr. Rourke to lay before the Society. (See page 109.) I received the following answer :

“ Dear Carey,

“ You know I am but an individual, *however anxious to serve you* in the Society, I do not recollect what I said to Rourke, *he did not give me the letter*, that is to say, *I did not take it from him*. I do not attend the Society; but if I did, I know THEIR PUBLIC SPIRIT is at TOO LOW AN EBB to engage them in the service of their BEST FRIENDS.—Compliments to Mrs. C.

“ Yours sincerely,

“ THOMAS WRIGHT.”

It may be imagined what I must have felt on reading this note. It appeared to me from it that the memorial was somehow unfairly dealt with, although it was of so much consequence to me that I had in the presence of the Printer of the Morning Star, as already stated, confided it to Mr. Rourke in his own shop, with a private note to Mr. Wright, requesting of him to bring it forward in the Society. Mr. Wright, speaking of it as a LETTER, asserts, that Mr. Rourke *did not give it to him*, seeming to convey a hint as if Mr. Rourke had failed of his promise to me; but as positively contradicting himself in the next sentence, he adds, “ *I did not take it from him*,” thereby seeming to convey an idea that he himself refused to take it from Mr Rourke

Rourke.—The reader by looking back to page 109, will find, that Mr. Rourke about a week after having received the memorial from me in his own shop, in the presence of the Proprietor of the Morning Star, told me that he had given it with my note to Surgeon Wright, in his own house in Ship-street, and that Surgeon Wright had told him he would not lay it before the United Irishmen until he would first consult some of the Lawyers of the Society with whom he was intimate. After another week I saw Mr. Rourke, when he told me that he had again spoke to Mr. Wright, who had told him that he had shewed the memorial to some of these Lawyers, and that they had advised him not to lay it before the Society.—The whole of this train of circumstances was so contradictory to what Mr. Wright stated in his note, that it required some time for consideration to form any thing like a fair conjecture of the reality. I could only suppose that Mr. Rourke had, for some sinister purpose, suppressed the memorial, and imposed on me by an account *wholly destitute of truth*, or that Mr. Wright had for some sinister purpose suppressed the memorial and imposed upon Mr. Rourke. The plain sincerity of Mr. Rourke prevented me from harbouring a doubt of his integrity, and after Mr. Wright had evinced so much friendship for me as to become surety for my appearance when I had been arrested, I did not know how to permit myself to suspect him of having acted insincerely by me. This circumstance occasioned me much painful reflection. On looking back, I found that from the time I had gone out to Glasnevin in May, Mr. Wright had never once called to see me, although when I met him in the Society he appeared friendly, and I often pressed him to pay me a visit, as he, before that, used to do. I did not know how to account for this change in his behaviour; nor could I attribute it to any thing except a circumstance of his own conduct on the night on which I was arrested. He then used much persuasion to induce me to believe, that my arrest had taken place in consequence of the treachery of a person from whom I could never have expected such an unkind measure. I own at the moment that he offered to befriend me, by becoming my surety, it was difficult for me not to pay some attention to what otherwise bore every appearance of improbability. I however did so

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far attend to him, that, as he refused to become my surety unless I would first promise him not to put myself again in the same person's power, I did promise him accordingly. I had many reasons to be of opinion that Mr. Wright's unsettled disposition led him to the adoption of notions not strictly founded, and I thought that this credulity, joined to a strong wish to serve me, had made him form suspicions of a person who in reality I must believe was my friend. His conduct on this occasion proved to me a misfortune, as it caused me much disturbance, and finally produced the incurable alienation and enmity of a connection otherwise justly valued.

This circumstance unavoidably transpiring, Mr. Wright was called to account by a relative of the person alluded to. Mr. Wright succeeded however in preventing serious consequences by a compromise, the nature of which I will not here mention, nor indeed did I know any part of the transaction until near a year after. Whether or not this mortifying business had caused any change in Mr. Wright's friendship for me I cannot tell; but certain it is, I noticed that for five months before the night of the motion to exonerate my bail on the 10th of October, he never once called on me, as if ashamed to see me after what had happened. Another circumstance, of which I did not know what to think, came to my recollection. It was told to me by Mr. Rourke when he informed me that Mr. Wright had, *as he said by the advice of the Lawyers of the Society*, declined to lay my memorial before the United Irishmen. Surgeon Wright had then in an obscure way hinted to Mr. Rourke, "that the *Lawyers of the Society did not like Mr. Carey*." This conveyed in a *whisper*, as a secret, *without assigning any cause* for their dislike, must tend to injure me in the opinion of the person to whom it was entrusted. What made this on reflection still more extraordinary, were the expressions in Mr. Wright's note, which so positively asserted, that he *did not take the letter (my memorial) from Mr. Rourke*; of course, if that was to be believed, all I had heard of his application to the Lawyers, and their advice to him to suppress my memorial must be wholly destitute of foundation. In this case it is evident, it was not the *Lawyers*, but *Mr. Wright* who disliked me.

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The seemingly warm *profession of friendship* contained in the expressions—" *however anxious to serve you*"—but ill agreed with the circumstance of *suppressing the memorial* on which my liberty, safety, and every future prospect, depended. I found that his declaration, " *of not attending the Society,*" was equally insincere, as at that time, and every time after when I attended, I saw him at the Taylor's Hall. Even on the night of my expulsion he was there; and although I had brought on my head that storm, by endeavouring to procure his exoneration and that of my other surety, he went with the stream and voted for my expulsion.

On speaking to Mr. Rourke on the subject of Mr. Wright's note, and his declaration that he had not received or taken my memorial from Mr. Rourke, the latter appeared much surprised and hurt, lest I should think that he had violated the trust I reposed in him, by suppressing my memorial himself. He told me he would instantly go with me to Surgeon Wright to clear himself of any share in the transaction, and to prove that he had delivered my memorial to him, and received the answer from him exactly as he had before told me. My opinion of Mr. Rourke from what I had seen of him was fixed. I had every reason to believe him to be an honest, sincere and friendly man, and I had every reliance on his veracity.

A moment's consideration pointed out to me how wrong it would be in me to enter into this matter with any apparent earnestness; and painful as the reflection was to me, I was forced to admit a conviction into my mind, injurious to the candour and veracity of a person who had voluntarily rendered me a signal service. I could not fathom the depth of Mr. Wright's conduct. But I requested of Mr. Rourke to make himself entirely easy upon the score of my opinion, as I solemnly assured him I had an implicit confidence on his word, and was convinced that on the whole of this singular transaction, he had acted as my friend, and simply related to me the truth of every occurrence. I begged he would be advised by me, and as he wished to serve me, I earnestly requested him not to urge the matter with any warmth on Mr. Wright. I also wished him not to make it the subject of a particular visit to that gentleman, but to wait until he either should meet him

him by chance or in the Society. This I did because (as I informed Mr. Rourke) I was of opinion, that the only result of a direct call on Mr. Wright would be an unpleasant altercation, which might convert a doubtful friend, or a neutral character, into an open enemy against me. Mr. Rourke was struck with the propriety of my reasoning, and assented to act according to it.

About a week after, I again saw Mr. Rourke. He told me that he had seen and conversed with Surgeon Wright, who had at first *no recollection of the transaction*. Mr. Rourke however recurring to the circumstance of his having called to his house in Ship-street—of his being shewed into the back parlour—of Mr. Wright's being called out of company from the front parlour—and of the particular discourse between them on that occasion, *began to remember something of it*, and at length owned *that he had received the memorial from Mr. Rourke, but could not recollect further what he had done with it*.

From the particulars of this transaction I formed an opinion, that for some secret caprice Mr. Wright had ceased to be my friend. I own I more readily attributed this to an unsettled and changeable disposition in him, because I was not conscious of having given him any cause of offence. I felt it would be folly in me to expatiate with him on so delicate a matter, therefore I never opened my lips to him on the subject.

After this it will not create much surprize, when I declare that Mr. Wright's giving me leave to quit the kingdom, excited my astonishment at least as much as my thanks.

Some persons who were present when Mr. Wright gave me leave to quit the kingdom, were of opinion, that he did so knowing Mr. Mathews's resolution not to consent to my going—and also that he knew enough of me, to rely on my not going without the consent of both of my sureties. He therefore might well give me leave to go, knowing I would not, nor could not avail myself of it. In which case he had an opportunity of obtaining the praise of a disinterested act of public spirit, at the expence of Mr. Mathews, whose more sincere refusal to consent to my going, in some eyes might form a contrast advantageous to the character of Mr. Wright, who
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after all ran no hazard by the business. On the propriety or impropriety of this opinion, however, it would be perhaps indelicate in me to determine.

The conclusion of his note proved to me that he entertained a contemptible opinion of the Society. He there, as already stated, says, "*He had ceased to attend it*"—and adds, "*I know THEIR PUBLIC SPIRIT is AT TOO LOW AN EBB to engage them in the service of their BEST FRIENDS;*" and in his conversation I heard him express repeatedly the same opinion still more strongly. It would appear therefore that he had no reliance whatever on the Society's interposing to pay the penalty in which he was bound after my departure. It is true he had said when pressing me to fly the kingdom, that "*if the Society failed to stand by him, he had friends in another quarter, who would prevent his being called upon to pay the penalty.*" This appeared to have no other foundation that I could learn, but that a Counsellor R——e; of the Society of United Irishmen, had formerly rendered so essential a service to the Crown Solicitor, that he retained an influence over him sufficient to procure him the suppression of the information against me for publishing the Address to the Volunteers, by which means the penalty would never be called for. I confess this appeared to me so ridiculous a supposition, that I could scarce deem it the real ground on which Mr. Wright's security rested. I knew that the Crown Solicitor was but an agent, under the direction and controul of a superior power. This also Mr. Wright must know, and of course he must have a conviction that it was not in the power of the Crown Solicitor to serve him or Counsellor R——e, by suppressing the information against me. When I add to these considerations the knowledge which I had, that if I went away, and Mr. Wright would be called upon for the penalty, he must himself go to prison, or have his house and furniture sold under execution; and that in consequence of such a misfortune, his *wife* and *seven children* would be deprived of their support, I felt myself wholly at a loss for the motives of his conduct, although I was aware of the extraordinary latitude of his opinions on the most serious subjects; yet it would be no compliment to him, and a weakness in me, to suppose that his feelings

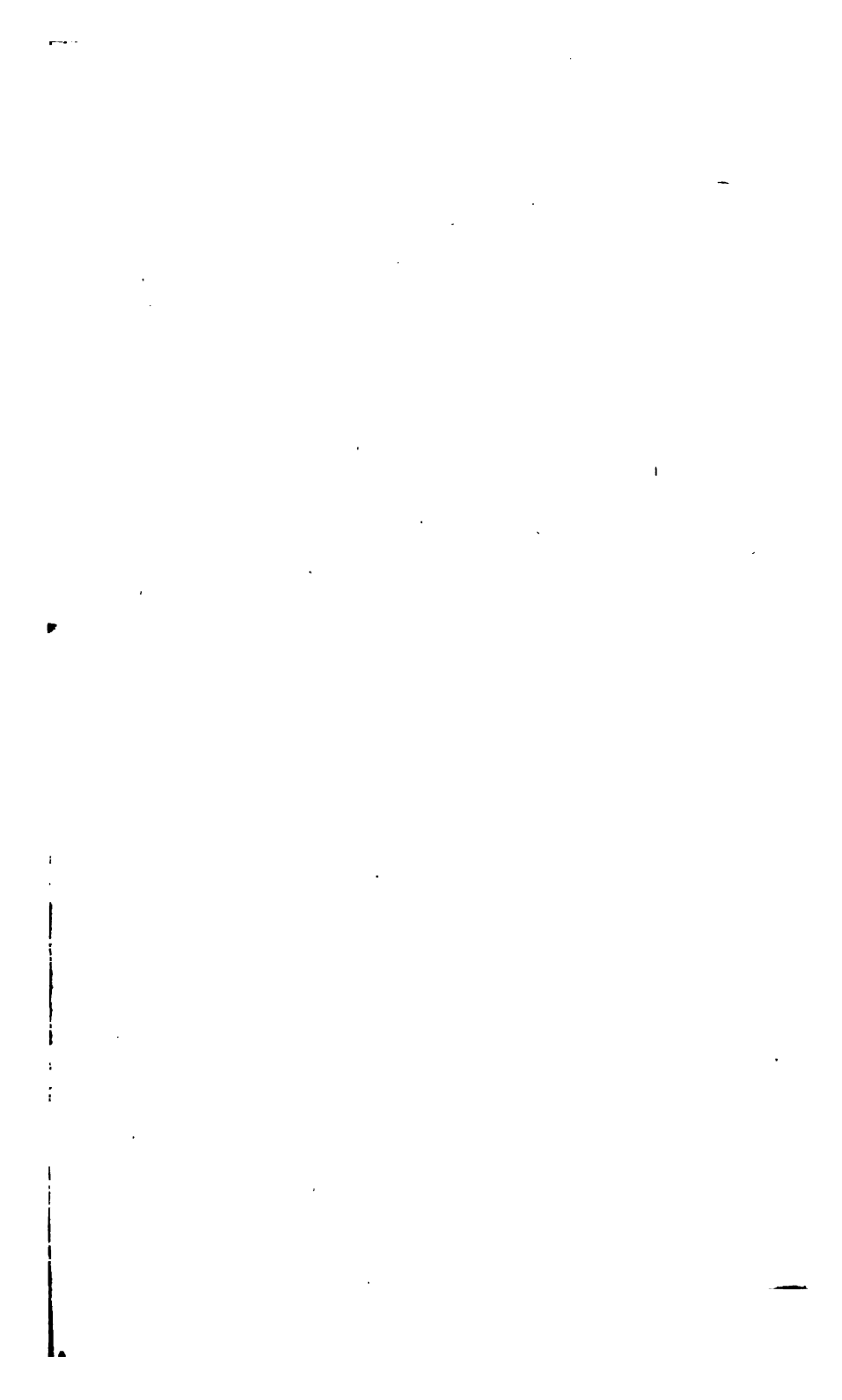
feelings for my safety were stronger than his feelings for the safety of his own family. Still his offer to me bore so much of that appearance, that my sense of the immediate benefits it promised to confer on me was considerably weakened by a conviction that his conduct was unaccountably inconsistent, and seemingly founded on a forgetfulness of the highest duties of nature, which bind man as a husband and father, first to consult the welfare and safety of his own family and nearest kindred connections.

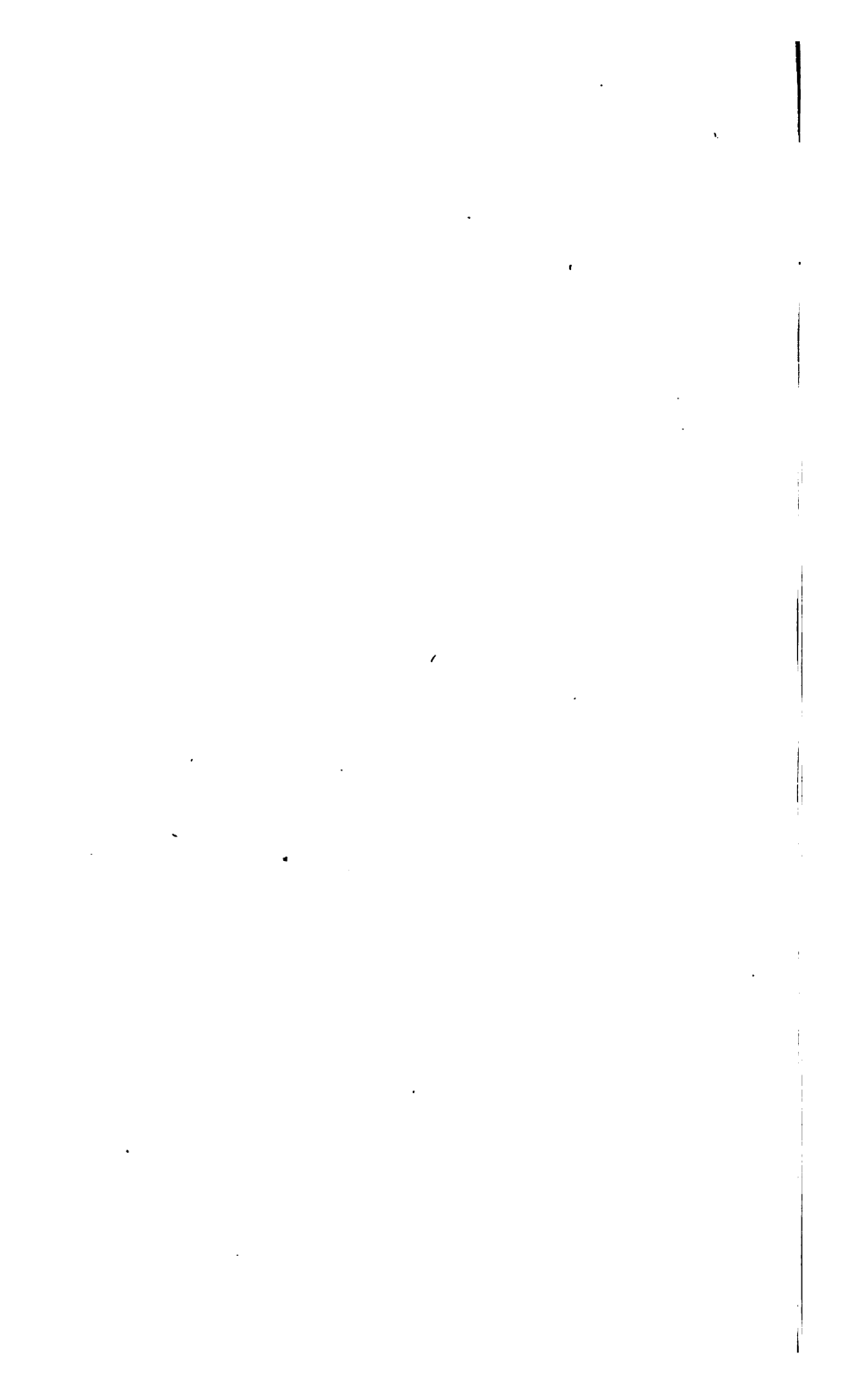
A reflection of this kind induced me to feel that Mr. Mathews in refusing me leave to quit the kingdom, acted with more propriety, in justly considering himself and his family, and accordingly was more entitled to my approbation and friendship. Perhaps the feeling regard which I ever felt for this good old man owed something of its warmth to my frequently seeing him, and to the sincere and constant solicitude which he ever expressed for my welfare and safety.

The reader now can form an opinion of the propriety or impropriety of my conduct. I have been blamed by many for so long permitting the Society to trifle with my personal liberty, by the violation of its engagement to me. I however am pleased with my long forbearance. On looking back, I think if again unfortunately involved in a similar situation I would adopt a similar conduct. If I remained a passive sufferer for near a year, it was not because I wanted feeling or spirit, but because I was unwilling to commit myself in a public contest under the delicate circumstances which surrounded me. Unfortunately my patience availed me nothing, and we now hasten to a period when the ungenerous party which had involved and injured me, proceeded to plan the means of paying off their engagements, by expelling me, and finally crushing me in the hour of prosecution.

END OF PART THE FIRST.

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Idm







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